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THE CATHOLIC INDIAN MISSIONS IN MAINE

(1611-1820)

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THE CATHOLIC INDIAN MISSIONS IN MAINE

(1611–1820)

A Dissertation

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF PHILOSOPHY OF THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

BY

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TO MY COMMUNITY

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PREFACE.

Three-quarters of a century have passed since the Father of American Catholic history, John Gilmary Shea, published his *Catholic Missions Among the Indian Tribes of the United States (1529-1854)*. Shea prefaced his work with the remark that a general history of the missionary efforts of the Catholic Church among the American Indians was a work too much needed to require comment. It was inspired by Jared Sparks, then President of Harvard University, who had urged Shea to write the volume in order to revive interest in the apostolic work of the early missionaries. Shea's volume was the result of ten years' collection of materials and historical research. As Dr. Guilday says in his *Life of John Gilmary Shea,* "there was a charm and an eloquence about the history of the Catholic Indian Missions that attracted all who read his dramatic description of what Catholic priests had undergone to plant the seed of the Faith in the New World. Shea's volume did more than tell the story of that past. It brought out in clear relief the legacy the missionaries of old had bequeathed to the generation of Catholics for whom he was writing."

Dr. Guilday, under whose academic direction this doctoral dissertation was begun two years ago, first suggested a new edition of Shea's *Catholic Missions* which would not only bring the subject up to the present time but also would take advantage of the wealth of historical studies on the Indian Missions that has been garnered by students and writers since Shea's volume appeared in 1854. As the work advanced during the first academic year of residence in the Catholic University of America, it became evident that a delimitation of the subject was imperative, if an intensive study was to be made. Accordingly, owing to their somewhat unique place in Indian history, Dr. Guilday advised that the essay be confined to the Catholic Indians of Maine from the earliest traces of missionary effort in that section to the year of Maine's entrance into the Union (1611-1820).

The search for original materials for the study has led me to many archives, and a list of these will be found in the appendices. The need of information has forced me to exercise the patience of many, all of whom have met my inquiries with unvarying kindness. It is, therefore, with considerable pleasure as well as from a sense of justice that I here express my gratitude to all who have made this work possible. First of all I desire to acknowledge my indebtedness to the Superiors of my Community who most generously have spared me during the last two years in order that I might pursue my studies at the Catholic University of America.

From the librarians and archivists I have received uniform courtesy and valuable assistance, especially at the following centers: the Public Archives at Canada and the Victorian Museum, Ottawa; the Archives of the Seminary and the Archives of the Archbishop's Palace, Quebec; the Massachusetts Archives, State House, Boston; the Archives of Georgetown University; and the libraries of the Catholic University. I wish to express in a very special manner my appreciation of the aid rendered me by the officials and attendants of the Manuscript Division, Map Division, and Rare Book Division of the Library of Congress.

To Professor Peter Guilday who suggested the subject and guided it to completion, I am especially indebted. To other members of the Faculty of Philosophy, particularly to Doctors J. M. Cooper, L. F. Stock, and G. B. Stratemeier, O. P., who by their careful reading of the manuscript and by their valuable suggestions rendered the work less imperfect than it would otherwise have been, I offer my sincerest thanks.

I am under obligations to the Rev. John Lenhart, O. M. Cap., who furnished me with transcripts and supplied me with information not otherwise obtainable. I wish also to thank Miss Frances Louise Trew and Mr. James Darley who assisted me in the preparation of the manuscript and maps.

S. M. C.

The Catholic University of America,
Washington, D. C.
Trinity Sunday, 1929.

CHAPTER I.

Introduction.

The Problem.

The subject of this monograph is Catholic Indian Missions of Maine from the first coming of the Jesuits in 1611 until Maine became a state in 1820. The country of the Maine Indians formed part of ancient Acadia, which by treaty and conquest passed between French and English nine times within a century and a quarter. Each occasion was marked by renewed contention over the unsettled limits of the ceded territory. There can, therefore, be no clear-cut line of demarcation between those missions located within the boundaries of the present State of Maine and those which lie to east and west of its borders. Although the aim has been to consider the missions conducted among the tribes of the Abenakian Confederacy, it has been necessary to include in the discussion those in the vicinity of the French settlements on the St. Lawrence, with occasional references also, to the Micmacs of the Nova Scotian peninsula. The St. Croix River was the scene of the first Indian mission in Maine. After two years of missionary activity among the Micmacs in the vicinity of Port-Royal, the Jesuits established St. Sauveur in 1613. After the failure of this mission, no further attempt to make a permanent establishment is recorded for fifty years. During the interval, however, the work of evangelizing the natives was carried on by the Recollects on the St. Jean, and the Jesuits at St. Anne (1619-1633); from 1632 until 1655, the French missions of the Capuchins afforded *pieds-à-terre* from which the missionaries went forth to carry the gospel message to the savage. In the latter half of the seventeenth century, there is recorded only one attempt to establish a permanent mission. The Assumption on the Kennebec was the successful outcome of the endeavors of Père Druillettes. The close of the seventeenth century and the beginning of the eighteenth mark the establishment of the Christian villages on the St. Lawrence: St. Joseph, Sillery; St. François de Sales, on the Chaudière; St.

François Xavier at Becancourt; St. François on the St. François. From these missions and from that of Narantsouak on the Kennebec visits were made to the Wawenoaks, Souriquois, Androscoggins, Pennacooks, and Amesseconti. At all of these stations, chapels were erected. Pentagoët, Narakamig, and Panaouské on the Penobscot; Medoctoc, and Aukpague on the St. Jean; Pesminquady on the St. Croix;—all were centers, from which the missionaries set forth to eastern Maine and the Peninsula. For three-quarters of a century while France and England waged successive wars for the control of the soil upon which the missions were located, Jesuits, Recollects, Prêtres des Missions Etrangères, Missionnaires du Saint Esprit, and Sulpicians labored along these rivers for the salvation of savage souls.

The first story of the Abenaki missions was told by John Gilmary Shea in his *History of the Catholic Missions among the Indian Tribes of the United States* (1529-1854). In 1866, there appeared *Histoire des Abenakis* "depuis 1605 jusqu'à nos jours," written by l'abbé J. A. Maurault. Father Maurault had been a missionary for many years at the mission of St. François. His special interest centered around the Abenaki of the St. Lawrence villages. In the same year a notice appeared in the *Freeman's Journal* of another book dealing with the same natives: "The Abenakis and their History, Historical Notices of the Aborigines of Acadia," by the Reverend Eugene Vetromile, Missionary among one branch of these Indians.[1] This little volume is, however, of more value to the philologist than to the historian.[2]

The task of tracing the missionary activities of the Jesuits is

[1] *New York Freeman's Journal and Catholic Register*, June 30, 1866.

[2] Reverend Eugene Vetromile was closely associated with the Penobscot and Passamaquoddy Indians from 1854 to 1881. During this period he lived among them as a resident missionary or served from some nearby mission. He succeeded Père Demilier at Oldtown and made use of the latter's manuscripts in his own compilations. He contributed articles on the Abenaki to the *Maine Historical Society Collections;* wrote a book of religious instructions in the various Abenaki dialects, *The Good Book;* and compiled a *Book of Hymns and Prayer Songs.* In the introduction to the last he tells that the purpose is not only to give practical instruction on church music, but also to preserve some unwritten melodies. For several years he prepared pictorial calendars for his Indian pupils.

less arduous than that which faces the investigator who seeks to learn the apostolic attempts of the other orders. The collected manuscripts in the *Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents* furnish a wealth of material upon which to draw. Occasionally, however, the report of an English surveyor or engineer, the relation of a colonial official to his British superiors brings to light a mission or chapel which finds no mention in the collected *Relations*.

That Shea realized that the story of these missions was incompletely told may be gathered from notes found among his correspondence. Evidently he was seeking in French and Italian sources information concerning the Capuchin missions. One such inquiry brought the following reply: "I am sending you . . . a transcript of the notes which I have found on the Capuchins of the Province of Paris; as to the others whom you mention, I find in the five volumes which I have examined neither notice nor mention of them."[3] Another note which was sent to him from the Italian archives acquaints him with the *Relation* of Père Ignatius the Capuchin. Perhaps Shea did not have means to procure a copy at the time, for the first edition of the Latin text was not published until 1904, when it appeared in the *Report concerning the Canadian Archives* for that year.[4]

[3] Monsieur,

Je vous envoie par ce même courrier la copie des notices que j'ai pu trouver sur les capucins de la Province de Paris; quant aux autres dont vous m'indiquer les noms, il n'existe dans les 5 volumes que j'ai parcourus, ni notice, ni mentions de leurs personnes.

Dans le cas où cela pourrait vous intéresser, j'ai relevé, les noms de certains capucins, Missionnaires du Levant. . . .

HURTEL,
35 Rue d'Assas, Paris.

Letter in Shea collection Georgetown Archives 25: 9.

[4] Vol. II America, No. 260, pg. 25.

(Al di fuori) Capue. Missio Novae Galliae sive Canada, nova Francia Ind. Occid. Accadia. In nomine Dni, Nro Xto. Brevis et dilucida praesentis status missionis Accadiae in nova Gallia descriptio seu relatio quam Ill. Dominus a Secretis S. Congreg. de Propag. Fide petit a me, Fr. Ignatio parisino Capucino . . . in Accadia in nova Gallia, etc.

Shea's correspondent describes the state of the document and the cost of having it photographed. He then proceeds to summarize another Latin

For the early missions of the Recollects, Le Clercq is the only authority. L'abbé Casgrain has attempted to describe the missions of Acadia conducted by the Sulpicians and Priests of the Paris Seminary (Prêtres des Missions Etrangères) but owing to the incompleteness of the records there is ample room for differences of opinion between himself and the Jesuit historian, Père Rochemonteix. A brief for the Missionaires du Séminaire du Saint-Esprit has been made out by Père Albert David, who claims that much of the missionary work in Acadia in the late colonial period can be laid to the credit of the members of this order.[5] Reverend John Lenhart, O. M. Cap., takes exception to the contention of Père David, basing his objection on the French official correspondence. He says: "The President of the Navy Board speaks only of Sulpicians and Paris Seminary Priests as being sent to Acadia. The priests of the Holy Ghost are never mentioned in his dispatches." [6]

This sketch of the Catholic missions among the Indians of the northeastern section of the United States is the outcome of a more pretentious attempt to trace the work of the Church in its relation to the native population of the entire country. This larger problem, because of its magnitude and complexity, could not be treated adequately in a monograph of this nature. The difficulties which confronted the investigator arose from two sources: the haphazard

document which he discovered in Vol. IV, Letters from Germany and France for the year 1641, No. 83, p. 303:

> P. Onorate, Procurator of Paris, Capuchin draws attention to the fact that it would not be a good thing to make P. Archangel Fossez prefect of the Canadian Missions because all the missionaries would return, and no one could be found to take their place. Besides this the Mission cannot maintain itself, neither can it expect any assistance from that province in these times. It is his opinion that the Prefecture should be given to Father Spirito de Guoy, under the sole direction of the Procurator, because the said Father Spirito has a brother who is wealthy and who might perhaps render assistance to the mission.

Shea collection, Georgetown Archives 25: 9.

[5] *Les Missionnaires du Saint-Esprit*, Société d'Histoire du Canada (Paris, 1926).

[6] Letter to the writer, October 3, 1928.

Indian policy of the civil government, and the unsystematic efforts on the part of individuals or religious organizations, with few and incomplete records of the work accomplished. Both in the colonial period and in the era of our national history, the endeavors of the Church have had to follow and to depend to a certain extent upon the policy of the State, but the State has had almost as many Indian policies as there have been tribes. In several of the original states, Congress exercises no jurisdiction over the Indians; the constitutional power is not clearly defined, and only by treaties and laws passed from time to time has a set of principles evolved by which relations with the tribes have been regulated. Not until January 2, 1874, was any official step taken to safeguard the interests of the Catholic Indian. Then the Office of Catholic Commissioner for Indian Missions was established under General Charles Ewing. This office was transferred into the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions in 1879 and incorporated under the laws of the District of Columbia. Later by a decree of the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore it became an institution of the Church in this country. In view of the obstacles which arose in securing the information for the larger work, it was thought best to make an intensive study of the history of the individual tribes with the emphasis on missionary activity.

The Indians.

The several hundred Indians in the State of Maine to-day, natives of the Passamaquoddy and Penobscot tribes, are the sole survivors of the Abenakian Confederacy. The former reside at Oldtown, a few miles above the city of Bangor; the latter have settlements at Pleasant Point, nine miles from Eastport, and at Peter Dana's Point near Princeton. They bear a very good reputation, are of superior intelligence, self-supporting, and sober. Warren K. Moorehead, a member of the United States Board of Indian Commissioners, gives as a reason for the splendid condition of these tribes the fact that they have been surrounded by a high class of whites and have had an opportunity to acquire the tools of a more highly developed civilization. They have been protected by the State, and enjoy the rights of citizenship. Though few in number,

this tribe does not show a marked decrease.[7] Writing in 1835, to the Superintendent of Indian Affairs, Bishop Bruté cites the Maine Indians as typical of the best that might be expected from our native tribes. "So far", he says, "examples of such a state of things has existed in different of our states, and in particular, as for Catholic Indians become part and parcell of their population we might allude to the Penobscot Society about Norridgewock in Maine."[8] There has always been great diversity of opinion as to the origin and classification of these tribes. Writing in 1832, Williamson speaks of the difficulty in reaching a conclusion, encountered by the early writers. His own inferences are about as follows: that the aborigines of Maine belonged to two divisions of the Algonkian stock—the Abenakies and the Etchemins. The Penobscots, whom after the fashion of the early New Englanders he calls Tarrantines, as well as the Passamaquoddies, would fall within the second group.[9] The editors of the *Jesuit Relations* have adopted the same arrangement and distribution.[10] L'abbé Maurault

[7] Different estimates have been given of their numbers; the following is that given by the *B. A. E.*, Bull., 30:

Penobscot:	1726	about 650	Passamaquoddy:	1726	about 100
	1736	350		1804	130
	1753	700		1825	379
	today	400 plus		1859	over 400-500

Handbook of American Indians, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bull. 30, pt. II, 207, 227.

[8] Letter of Bishop Bruté to Hon. C. Harris, Jan. 25, 1835 (Ms.), Gov. Ind. Off. Wash. File 1838.

[9] Summed up his classification would be the following:

I. Abenakies
   1 Sokokies on the Saco
   2 Annassagunticooks on the Androscoggin
   3 Canibas on the Kennebec
   4 Wawebocks on the Sheepscot

II. Etchemins
   1 Tarrantines or Penobscots on the Penobscot
   2 Openangos or Passamaquoddies on Passamaquoddy Bay
   3 Marecites on the St. John
   4 Micmacs

Williamson, *History of Maine,* I, xviii, passim.

[10] *Jesuit Relations,* II, 292.

concludes that the Abenakian group consisting of seven tribes occupied all the country from New Hampshire to New Brunswick. Later the term Abenaki was applied only to those who inhabited the banks of the Kennebec River.[11] He does not include the Micmacs, nor apparently do the colonial writers. In enumerating the Abenakian missions, the authors of the *Jesuit Relations* never include the tribes east of the St. Jean. Varenne wrote to a friend in 1756: "The original inhabitants of this country are the savages, who may be divided into three nations, the Mickmakis, the Maricheets, or Abenaquis (being scarcely different nations) and the Canibats."[12] Father Eugene Vetromile, on the other hand, who lived among these Indians for many years, includes the Micmacs. He gives for his reason that the Penobscots, Passamaquoddies, and Micmacs all spoke the same language. He points to the writings of John Eliot, Roger Williams, Père Edmund Demilier, and Père Menard in support of his argument.[13] J. Dynely Prince agrees when he says: "The Wabanaki tribes which still exist are (1) the St. Francis Indians of Canada . . . (2) the Penobscot Indians of Maine, (3) the Passamaquoddies of Maine practically identical with the Maliceets . . . (4) Finally the Micmacs of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick constitute the easternmost branch of the Wabanaki."[14] John Smith speaks of an alliance among these tribes

[11] 1. Les Canibas près des lacs.
2. Les Patsuikets sur la Merrimack.
3. Les Sokokis dans la Sud-Ouest du Maine.
4. Les Nurhantsuaks dans le haut de la Kenebec.
5. Les Pentagoet sur la Penobscot.
6. Les Etchemins sur la Saint Croix et la Saint Jean.
7. Les Malecites.

Mauralt, J. A., *Histoire des Abenakis,* chapter I.

[12] Letter from Mons. de Varenne to his friend at Rochelle, Louisbourg, May 8th, 1756. *An Account of the Customs and Manners of the Micmakis and Maricheets Savage Nations,* (London, 1758).

[13] Introduction to Vetromile's *Abnaki Dictionary.* This Mss. is now in the vaults of the Bureau of Ethnology, Washington, D. C. It consists of three volumes, the first and second English-Abnaki, the third Abnaki-English.

[14] *Annals, N. Y. Acad. of Sciences,* "Some Passamaquoddy Documents," XI, xv, 369 ff. (Oct. 13, 1898).

as early as 1616. He names the Penobscots and certain other tribes which can be recognized as inhabiting the rivers of Maine and New Hampshire. He says: "To those are allied in confederacy, the Countries of Aucoccisco . . . , all these for anything I could perceive differ little in language or anything, though most of them be Sagamos, and Lords themselves, yet they hold the Bashabes of Pennobscot the chiefs and greatest amongst them."[15] Dr. Frank G. Speck, of the Department of Anthropology, University of Pennsylvania, makes this distinction. He speaks of the Algonkian tribes from Maine eastward to the Atlantic and northward to the St. Lawrence as comprising a northeastern Algonkian or Wabanaki group, but in the confederacy proper of historic times he includes only four tribes. But in either case, whether considering early group or later confederacy, he includes the Micmacs.[16] The confederacy, he sees, as the "outgrowth of an organizing tendency shared alike by the native founders of the League of the Iroquois, the Creek Confederacy, the Delaware Confederation": he places its organization in the middle of the eighteenth century.[17] The same authority thinks that the Canibas were one of the Wabanaki divisions but not strictly limited to the Abenaki; that the Abenaki might denote the Annasagunticook and Noridgewocks, while Kennebec (Canibas) a locality name might possibly serve as a synonym.[18]

It will be necessary to accept the names of the tribes and their location as they are to be found in the sources and wherever possible make those readjustments which will render the story intelligible. Frequently the chronicler makes his own definition, as for instance when the Canibas in a certain report are defined as those "who occupy towards the coast, the country above Acadia inland from

[15] Captaine John Smith, "Advertisements for the unexperienced Planters of New England, or anywhere." Mass. Hist. Soc. *Collections*, third ser., III, 21.

[16] "Micmacs were a formal element of the historic Wabanaki Confederacy. What their earlier political connections were record does not say." Letter to the writer Oct. 15, 1928.

[17] "Wabanaki Confederacy," *American Anthropologist*, n. s. XVII, 492 (1915).

[18] Letter to writer (previously quoted).

Donaques or Mount Desert to the River St. George, which separates Acadia from New England, who ordinarily reside on the River Quinibequy and disperse themselves for the purpose of hunting as far as Quebec." [19]

The Abenaki native was of fine physique; those seized by Cortereal and taken to Lisbon were described by an onlooker as "tall, well-built, and admirably fitted to perform labor." [20] Rosier agrees that the "shape of their body is very proportionate, not very tall nor big in stature like to us." [21] Josselyn writes of them as "tall and handsome timber'd people, out-wristed, pale and lean Tartarian visag'd, black eyed which accounted the strongest for sight, and generally black hair'd, both smooth and curl'd wearing of it long. No beards or very rarely, their Teeth are very white, short and even, they account them the most necessary and best parts of men." [22] In a letter describing his mission Père Rale says, "Picture to yourself a tall strong man, agile of a swarthy complection, without beard with black hair and teeth whiter than ivory." [23] All of the early chroniclers remark on the singular lack of deformities. "Ce sont des gens proportionnés sans aucune diformités." [24] Attempts have been made to account for this unusual exemption from physical malformations on the ground that the weaklings were put to death. Palfrey says that it was not the effect of any peculiar congenital force, but of circumstances which forbade the prolongation of any imperfect life. The blind, the deaf, the dumb, the maimed, were too burdensome to the tribe to be reared.[25] If this be so, it is strange that there is no indication of this in any of the writings of the period. In the *Jesuit Relations,* there is mentioned

[19] Observations on the State of Affairs of Canada, *N. Y. Col. Docs. IX.*, 18 November, 1689.

[20] Letter of Pasqualio quoted. J. G. Kohl, *A History of the Discovery of Maine*, Maine Hist. Soc. *Coll.*, sec. ser. I, 169.

[21] Rosier, James. *Rosier's Narrative of Weymouth's Voyage.* (Portland, Me., 1887), 11.

[22] "A Relation of the Two Voyages to New-England, (1638, 1663)," Mass. Hist. Soc. *Coll.*, third ser., III, 294.

[23] *Jes. Rel.*, 67: 135.

[24] Champlain, *Oeuvres* (Laverdière ed. Quebec, 1870) II, 18.

[25] J. G. Palfrey, *History of New England,* (Boston, 1858), I, 23.

the practice of putting to death parents, who by reason of their age were no longer able to make the seasonal migrations of the tribe.[26] Josselyn adds: "They live long, even to an hundred years, if they be not cut off by their children, war, and the plague. . . ." [27] Their complexion variously described as copper, olive, swarthy, taxed the ingenuity of the French writer who sought an explanation; he decides that the Indian papoose, white at birth, turned a dusky hue as a result of the frequent anointing of the body against the attack of insect hordes of mosquitoes and gnats.[28] The English Josselyn ascribes their color to the dye which they use to render themselves "tawnie." He describes in detail their dress: "Their Apparel before the English came amongst them, was the skin of wild Beasts with the hair on, Buskins of Deers-skin or Moose drest and drawn with lines into several works, the lines being coloured with yellow, blew or red, Pumps too they have made of tough skins without soles." [29]

There has been some tendency to locate these people at the "higher hunting" level of civilization, but this is an error. There can be no question but that they were well advanced into the "tillage stage." In Denys and Leclercq there is evidence that they were past the beginnings of agriculture. In Smith's *Voyages,* there is a distinct reference to the "maize-bean-squash complex" and in his *Advertisement for the Unexperienced Planters,* he mentions their "planting their Fields, Huntings, Fishings. . . ." [30] Père Rale gives this account of their method of planting:

> In the beginning of June or when the snow is almost wholly melted they plant Skamounar: this is what we call Turkey wheat or Indian corn. Their manner of planting it is to make with the finger or little stick separate holes in the ground and to drop into each one eight or nine grains which they cover with the same soil which they have taken out to make the hole. Their harvest is made at the end of August.[31]

[26] *Jes. Rel.*, I, 259, 275, IV, 199.
[27] Mass. H. S., *Coll.*, ser. 3, III, 298.
[28] Marc Lescarbot, *Histoire de la Nouvelle France* (Paris, 1612), III, 684.
[29] Mass. Hist. Soc. *Coll.*, third ser., III, 297.
[30] Captaine John Smith, Mass. Hist. Soc. *Coll.*, third ser., III, 21.
[31] *Jes. Rel.*, LXVII, 141-3.

They knew the use of fertilizer; for this purpose they employed mussel shells and decayed fish. Some have said that there was less agriculture among the Micmacs; Dr. Speck thinks perhaps the Micmacs and Malecites were more agricultural than the Penobscots. Probably the truth is that after the coming of the Europeans, they neglected their maize growing when they found it more profitable to act as middlemen between the natives farther inland and the French. They secured furs for the French and purchased corn for themselves.

Aside from hunting and fishing and the curing of the products thus obtained, they had no other occupation; their tools were of the rudest sort. Josselyn describes some of their handiwork:

> . . . dishes made of Birch-Bark sowed with threads drawn from Spruse or white Cedar-Roots, and garnished on the outside with flourisht works, and on the brims with glistening quills taken from the Porcupine, and dyed, some black, others red . . . these they make of all sizes from a dram cup to a dish containing a pottle . . . baskets, bags, and mats woven with Sparke, bark of the Lime-Tree and Rushes of several kinds. . . . Kettles of Birchen-bark which they used before they traded with the French for Copper Kettles.[32]

Because of their interest in planting they were somewhat settled in their habits. For this reason the missionaries secured better results among these than was the case in some of the other tribes. They realized that it was only by rendering the natives sedentary that permanent results might be obtained. It is the theme of many of the letters to the French superiors.[33] Père Le Jeune was especially insistent:

> I may be mistaken but if I can draw any conclusions from the things I see, it seems to me that not much ought to be hoped for from the Savages as long as they are wanderers; you will instruct them to-day, to-morrow hunger snatches your hearers away forcing them to go and seek their food in the rivers and the woods. Last year I stammered out the Catechism to a goodly number of children; as soon as the ships departed my birds flew away.[34]

[32] Mass. Hist. Soc. *Coll.*, third ser., III, 37.
[33] *Jes. Rel.*, VI, 149-151; VIII, 57-59; XI, 141-147.
[34] *Jes. Rel.*, VI, 149-151.

The Abenaki were on the whole more stationary than many of the other Indian groups; it was this attachment to their dwelling places which made them such persistent enemies of the English and such valuable allies of the French. Not even their friends, the French, however, could dislodge them upon occasions. When Governor Vaudreuil, proposed moving the Abenaki of Koessek (Cushnock), he urged that the migration would be for their own greater advantage. They thanked him but refused, saying that they were not willing to leave their homes and did not wish to settle elsewhere.[35] Their cabins were comparatively durable. The common form of house was the dome-shaped bark hut with circular or elliptical ground plan—Josselyn says sometimes, square. Père Rale describes those of his village: "They plant the poles which are joined at the top and cover them with large sheets of bark. The fire is made in the middle of the cabin. They spread all around the mats of rushes upon which they sit during the day and take their rest during the night."[36] There were usually two doors, one opening to the South, the other to the North, and one of these, depending upon the direction of the wind, was closed with a deer skin. It has been said that the communal house, containing several fire places and intended to accommodate twenty families, was to be found here. There is no mention of this sort of structure in any of the mission villages. This form of dwelling was described by Père Bressani in his *Breve Relatione:* "E fanno le loro cabanne de 10, 15, 20, 30, e 40 canne di longo." The "canna" was about six feet. Each village had its house of considerable size, oblong in form and roofed with bark; and similar structures were used by the males of the village who preferred to club together in social fellowship.[37] Dr. Speck says, "I know of no direct statement to show that the Long House was a dwelling type anywhere northeast of New Hampshire. . . . The Labrador Algonkians live in tents joined together (2 or 3 fires) sometimes in cold weather and the Wabanaki may have done the same." According to Morgan they had fourteen gentes. The bird,

[35] Address of Koessek Indians to Vaudreuil, June 13, 1704. Coll. Moreau St. Méry (transcript), Ottawa archives.

[36] *Jes. Rel.*, LXVII, 135.

[37] *Handbook of Indians of Canada*, (Ottawa, 1913), 3.

beast, and reptile emblems were used in signing their treaties.[38] The tribes were patrilineal, descent being in the male line. "Their government is monarchial, the Patrueius or they that descend from the eldest . . . is the Roytelet of the Tribe, and if he have Daughters, his Son dying without a Son, the Government descends to the Daughters Son; after the same manner, their lands descend." [39] Their government was simple and democratic; it provided for an elected chief and an assembly of the people. The chief was assisted by a council of sachems, which body discussed all matters of importance and passed sentence of death. The general assembly was composed of all the members of the tribe including the women and boys. It was called whenever there was question of war. The chief sachem was elected for life and it was customary at his death to choose as his successor his oldest son. As to the authority accorded to him, this depended largely on the respect and obedience which he was able to command. Although every imaginable scheme involving threats, trickery, and cajolery was employed by the rival powers, in no case was there any attempt to impose their political organization upon the native. "The governments have made few attempts to control the Indians by native laws and through their own chiefs . . . the very weakness of the native organization and the absence of a despotic government through which control might be exercised interfered with the development of such a method." [40] The weakness of the native organization was a constant source of disturbance to the English. In 1721, for example, they thought they had accomplished their purpose by winning over some of the more conservative members, notably, the chief Taxous. They found, however, their plan frustrated when the leader was easily deposed. "You may promise a great Medal of the King reigning to him that shall be chosen in place of him Degraded." [41] The French writers of the early period were very favorably impressed by the seriousness and dignity with which their meetings were carried on. They admired the judgment and reason of the speakers,

[38] F. Kidder, *Treaties of 1713 and 1717*, (Portland, 1859).

[39] Josselyn, Mass. Hist. Soc. *Coll.*, third ser., III, 309.

[40] E. E. Muntz, *Race Contact* (New York, 1927), 63.

[41] Gov. Vaudreuil to Père Rale, Sept. 25, 1721, C. O. 5/10. (transcript), Library of Congress.

the patience and attention of the audience. A speech often lasted for two or three hours.

The qualities which most impressed the missionaries who lived among them were their docility and loyalty. Towards their enemies they were capable of the greatest cruelty; of all the doctrines inculcated by the Christian missionary, the one which they found hardest to accept was that of forgiveness of injuries. The improvidence of the native was a matter of grave concern to government, settler, and missionary. This peculiar feature of Indian behavior made an unpleasant impression on the whites, especially upon the thrifty New England Puritan. The missionary regrets frequently the lack of foresight evinced by his charges.

It is difficult to decide whether before the coming of the whites they had a fixed belief in a Supreme Being. In his Memoir on the natives, Nicolas Perrot writes: "On ne sçaurait dire que les sauvages professent quelque doctrine. . . . Les sauvages ne connaissent pour divinitez principales, que le grand Lièvre, le soleil, et les diables, j'entends ceux qui ne sont pas convertis.[42] John Smith says: "Those in New England, believe much like those in Virginia, of many divine Powers, yet of one above all the rest; as the Southerly Virginians call their chiefs God Kewassa, and that we now inhabit Okee . . . the Massachusetts call their great God Kichtan . . . and that we suppose their Devil, they call Habamouk. The Penobscots, their God, Tantum. . . ."[43] Josselyn calls the same Deity, Squantam and adds "but worship him they do not, because (they say) he will do them no harm. But Abbamoche or Cheepie many times smites them with incurable Diseases, scares them with his Apparitions and panick Terrours, by reason whereof they live in wretched consternation worshipping the Devil for fear.[44] This chronicler gives a version of the "Flood story" as told by these Indians. Père Maurault holds that they had a conception of the Divinity; he says that it was in order to secure his protection that they strove to become great warriors and good hunters. The Jesuit missionaries, on the other hand, maintain

[42] *Memoire sur les Moeurs* (Leipzig and Paris, 1864), 12.

[43] John Smith, *op. cit.*, 22, 23.

[44] Josselyn, 300.

that they found among the aborigines no notion of a Supreme Being. The lack of any definite religious dogmas was a help rather than a hindrance. Père Julian Perrault while working among the Souriquios, an Abenakian tribe, writes: "What they do lack is the knowledge of God and of the service that they ought to render to Him, as also of the state of the soul after death; it is wonderful that we have not been able to discover any trace of this knowledge in what we know of their language." He adds that it is perhaps the missionary's own insufficient grasp of the language which renders him incapable of recognizing the presence of this concept. He concludes "For all that we have not up to the present noticed any more religion among these poor savages than among the brutes." [45]

Cult practices existed among these as among other tribes; shamanism as exemplified by the medicine-men—the "jongleurs" of the French missionary, the "Powawa" of the English annalists—was an obstacle with which the missionaries had to contend. Père Druillettes has left an account of his difficulties with his neophytes of the Kennebec. He says they received from the medicine-men, stones, bones, and other objects which they preserved superstitiously; that they believed these Madaôdos protected them and brought them good fortune in the chase. Père Lafitau found that they retained many of their superstitions after conversion. As an indication of this he tells the story of the Abenakis' regard for their famous tree, "dont ils racontent plusiers marveilles et qui étoit toujours chargé de leux voeux." [46]

There is the tendency to assert that the missionary among the savages attempted to graft upon their superstitions an abstract religion unsuited to their stage of civilization, with its primitive social and industrial culture, and while engaged in this occupation he was without realization of the difficulties of his task. The following counsel from Père Le Jeune might issue from the pen of a modern anthropologist:

> Had I to give counsel to those who commence to labor for the conversion of the savages, I would willingly say a word of advice to them which experience will, I think, make them

[45] *Jes. Rel.*, VIII, 34.
[46] Lafitau, *Moeurs des Sauvages* (Lyons, 1839), I, 151.

> acknowledge to be more important than it seems at first sight, namely; that one must be very careful before condemning a thousand things among their customs which greatly offend minds brought up and nourished in another world. It is very easy to call irreligion what is merely stupidity and to take for diabolic workings something which is nothing more than human; . . . These could be abolished more gently, and I say more efficaciously by inducing the savages themselves gradually to find out their absurdity, to laugh at them and to abandon them not through motives of conscience as if they were crimes but through their own judgment and knowledge as follies.[47]

It was a wise counsel and one which was followed for the most part. The French missionaries conformed in many things to the modes and habits of their savage neophytes. This policy was to result in the conversion of the natives to Christianity; at the same time it was to secure for the French the friendship of the eastern tribes during periods of peace, and their faithful alliance in times of war.

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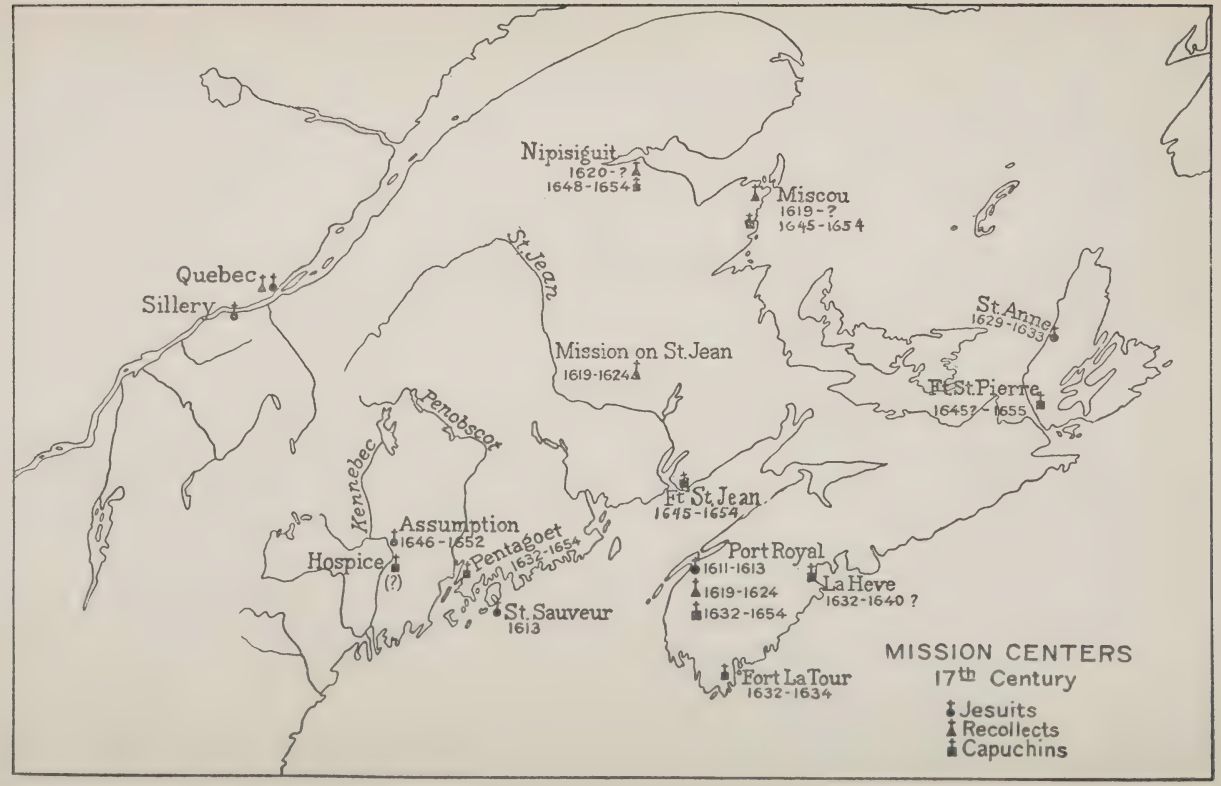
[47] *Jes. Rel.*, XXXIII, 145.


Nipisiguit
1620-?
1648-1654
Miscou
1619-?
1645-1654
St. Jean
Quebec
Sillery
St. Anne
1629-1633
Mission on St. Jean
1619-1624
Ft. St. Pierre
1645?-1655
Penobscot
Kennebec
Ft. St. Jean
1645-1654
Assumption
1646-1652
Hospice
(?)
Pentagoet
1632-1654
Port Royal
1611-1613
1619-1624
1632-1654
La Heve
1632-1640?
St. Sauveur
1613
Fort La Tour
1632-1634
MISSION CENTERS
17th Century
Jesuits
Recollects
Capuchins

CHAPTER II.

Early Attempts and Failures (1611-1660).

Acquisition of territory, source of raw materials, markets for trade, increase in prestige among nations,—all were potent motives in bringing the Old World to the New. But in the case of France, the religious incentive not only figured prominently in the written document but operated in such manner as to bear practical fruits in harmony with theoretical expression.

Verrazano felt obliged to make a detailed report upon the religion of the natives.[1] Jacques Cartier in the *Dedication of the Relation of his Second Expedition* indicates clearly that the religious interest was paramount. This Dedication addressed to Francis I discusses the responsibility on the part of Christian princes to help fill the breach left in the Church by the great Protestant revolt. This he points out can be done by the conversion of the heathen nations in these vast unknown western lands.[2] When that same monarch planned the settlement to be sent out under Roberval he states distinctly that the conversion of the Indians, if not the main object of the enterprise was, at least, a very important one; he aimed to people the country with subjects "de bonne volonté" who would go among the natives, converse with them and if necessary live among them. As a means of bringing souls to the Faith, this plan, in days to come, was to meet with vigorous opposition on the part of those who advocated a policy of separation. When Henry IV authorized de Monts to establish a foundation in Acadia it was expressly stipulated that one of the main purposes of the enterprise was "that Christianity might be brought to the barbarians who inhabit these lands—to draw them forth from ignorance and infidelity and to lead them to a knowledge of our Faith, to an acceptance of our religion."[3] Thus it was that de Monts although not moved to the undertaking primarily by the mission-

[1] Hakluyt's Voyages, vol. 21 (New York Hist. Soc. *Coll.*), I 60.
[2] Second navigation de Cartier (Paris, 1840), II, 7 f.
[3] M. Lescarbot, I, 418.

ary impulse, nevertheless took with him both Huguenot ministers and a Catholic priest; the result, it is true, was disastrous. As Champlain pointed out at the time, "Deux religions contraires ne font jamais un grand fruit."

Poutrincourt wrote to the Holy See declaring as his major purpose in undertaking the venture, the winning of souls for Christ:

> Most Holy Father, the land to which I now betake myself, tempts me with no promises of gold or silver mines; it is no part of my intention to despoil the native; it is sufficient for me if I can by the grace of God employ the revenue of this land, given to me by royal munificence, to gain souls to Christ.[4]

Whatever conclusion may be reached concerning the difficulties which arose between Poutrincourt and the Jesuit missionaries, it must be acknowledged that the ideal of the propagation of the faith was present with the one as with the other. Faillon, in his history of the French Colonies, blames Poutrincourt for preventing the Jesuits from accompanying the expedition to the New Colony when this had been the expressed intention of the King. He accuses him too of having secured the baptism of a number of the savages in order thereby to make a good impression upon the court and higher ecclesiastics of France. To flatter the vanity of these important personages the newly baptized received the names of members of the royal families and of others whose patronage it was well to secure. In order that France might learn of the work of conversion being carried forward, Poutrincourt caused a report to be written by the indefatigable Lescarbot entitled *La Conversion des Sauvages qui ont esté baptisés en la Nouvelle France, cette année, 1610.*[5] When the Jesuits Père Biard and Père Massé arrived at Port Royal they expressed it as their opinion that the baptisms had been carried through with too great haste and too little instruction. They were unable to perceive that the newly baptised had any conception of the meaning of the word Christian or the duties which they assumed by embracing Christianity. To this there was one exception. Of the Sagamore Membertou, Père Biard writes:

[4] Lescarbot, 505, 506.

[5] *Jes. Rel.*, I, 49.

> He often said to them [the Jesuits] "Learn our language: for when you have learned that you will teach me, and I having been taught will become a preacher like you, and we shall convert the whole country." The savages have no memory of any sagamore of grander character or more undisputed authority.[6]

Another view of the matter has been taken by the Capuchin writer Père Candide de Nant. He points out that for at least three or four years Membertou had been under instructions and like another Clovis had promised that should he be successful in war, he and all of his people would accept the Christian faith.[7] To sum up: The Jesuits were not consistent; inasmuch as they had stood for leniency in the matter of the Chinese rites, they were proving rigorous in the question of the Indian baptisms; also they themselves had baptised under similar circumstances in the South American missions. A second argument advanced was that just as infants were baptized on the strength of the promises made by their god-parents, so was it justifiable to administer the sacrament to sedentary natives located near a French settlement, where Christian whites could instruct them further in the mysteries of their religion. The Jesuit position then as after was that in two cases only did they baptise without the unmistakable evidence of a comprehension of the principal beliefs of the Catholic faith: infants with the consent of their parents in the hope that there would be opportunity for their later instruction and adults at the point of death.[8]

Jesuits on the St. Croix.

The difficulties which arose at the Acadian settlement resulted in the subsequent removal of the missionaries and the establishment of the ill-fated mission of St. Sauveur. When Madame de Guercheville, benefactress of the Jesuits, learned that the end sought, a harvest of souls, was becoming subsidiary to the primary

[6] Père Biard to the Jesuit Provincial, *Jes. Rel.*, II, 23.
[7] Père Candide, *Mission Capucine en Acadie*, 70.
[8] *Jes. Rel.*, III, 143-153.

consideration, a harvest of pelts, she immediately made preparations for the establishment of a new mission independent of the Port-Royal authorities. In 1613, a vessel under the command of Captain la Saussaye, carried the two Jesuits, Père Quentin and Frère du Thet, to Acadia where they were joined by the two missionaries of Port-Royal. These latter had made all plans for the new settlement which they intended to locate on the river Pentagoët, but wind and fog forced them to change their plans. To add to their discomfiture, unfortunate dissensions arose aboard the vessel; the cause—a dispute as to whether the terms of the contract called for a three-month service from the time of arrival at the first port or from the date of disembarking at the final destination. While the discussion raged aboard the ship Père Biard went ashore, where he was recognized by some natives whom he had encountered on a trip two years previous. When he sought from them information as to the best route by which he might reach his destination they urged that he make the settlement near their village. When the priest appeared unwilling to listen to their recommendation, they employed a ruse which indicated remarkable astuteness on the part of the savage. "Asticou, our sagamore, is sick unto death. If you do not come he will die without baptism and will not go to heaven. You will be the cause of it." Père Biard surprised at the cleverness of their reasoning complied with their request. He found their chief suffering from no serious ailment; he himself embraced the opportunity of investigating the location which the Indians praised so highly. All agreed that it was indeed an ideal spot and a decision was reached that here on the Island of Mount Desert should be planted the cross which was to mark the site of St. Sauveur. Unfortunately, discord again marked the progress of the undertaking:

> . . . and with the work began our quarrels a second signal and portent of our evil destiny. The occasions of these wranglings was that our Captain, la Saussaye, amused himself in cultivating the ground, while all of the chiefs of the enterprise pressed him not to divert the laborers to that object but to direct all without interruption to dwellings and fortifications which he was unwilling to do.[9]

[9] *Jes. Rel.*, III, 273.

Whatever may be thought concerning the rival claims to the land upon which the mission was begun, this much must be admitted in behalf of the English Argall; he was acting under orders from the English crown. French writers without exception have dubbed him pirate, buccaneer, unlicensed privateer. Even Francis Parkman has characterized the destruction of the mission as "an obscure stroke of lawless violence."[10] For verification of this estimate they are able to point to the words of his own letter to Nicholas Hawes, June 1613, in which he declares his purpose in setting out was to fish for cod off the coast of Maine.[11] Common sense would indicate that no ordinary fishing vessel would set forth in times of peace armed with fourteen guns and manned with sixty musketeers.[12] But we have stronger evidence in the *Defense of Argall* as proposed by the Council of Virginia to the Privy Council of England, 1614. In discussing the claims in the memorial prepared by the French Admiral, the investigation brought out the fact that whatever Argall did was done by "command of the governor of our colony by his commission given under the seal of the colony and by virtue of such authority as is in him."[13] The memorial complains of depredations committed upon French subjects by the English vessel, the *Treasurer,* commanded by Captain Sam. Argail (Argall). Mention is made of two Jesuits killed in the raid and two others taken prisoners to Virginia. Three requests were then made of the English king: (1) that the Jesuit Fathers be sent back in safety with the other prisoners; (2) that restitution be made to the Marchioness de Guercheville for the loss of more than 100,000 livres; and (3) that the Council of Virginia explicitly declare the bounds of their country. The King is also reminded that the French had had possession of New France for more than eighty years.[14]

Such was the issue of the first Jesuit mission. Though not

[10] F. Parkman, *Pioneers of France in the New World* (Boston, 1894), 323.

[11] Purchas (London, 1625), IV, 1764.

[12] Shea says that the English had ten vessels but this is an error. *Catholic Missions* (New York, 1854), 133.

[13] The Argall Correspondence, Mass. Hist. Soc. *Proceedings,* 1884.

[14] Corresp. France, 18 Oct. 1613, *Calendar of State Papers Colonial,* II.

apparent at the time, there were results which Père Biard foresaw, as in a moment of prophecy he visioned the future with its fruitful missions in these fields where he and his companions now seemingly labored ineffectually. Far from being discouraged he summed up the result of their first contact with the natives: "We have begun to know and to be known—we have taken possession of these regions in the name of the Church of God, establishing here the royal throne of Our Savior and King;—they have received the first faint ideas and germs of our holy Faith which will some day take root and grow abundantly, please God, if it is followed by a longer and better cultivation." [15]

The future would see three important Abenaki missions in the territory now embraced by the State of Maine: (1) Panaouské upon the Pentagouet (Penobscot) River; (2) Narantsouak on the Kennebec; and (3) Medoctec on the St. Jean. In these missions there would labor and endure, sons of St. Ignatius, sons of St. Francis (Recollects and Capuchins), Sulpicians, Priests of the Foreign Missions and Fathers of the Holy Ghost. And on each of these three rivers did Père Biard in the short duration of his sojourn in the New World sow the "germs of holy Faith."

The Penobscot was the first of these regions to be visited by the missionary: "We had advanced three leagues or more into the current of the river called Chiboctous which comes from the northeast to discharge its waters into the great Pentagouet. At the confluence of these two rivers there was the finest assemblage of Savages that I have yet seen. There were 80 canoes and a boat, 18 wigwams and about three hundred people." He marks the docility of the tribe; they accept his ministrations with pleasure as he reads the Gospel over them and gives to each a small cross to wear suspended from the neck. This trip lasted but twelve days.[16]

In the second journey, which lasted a month and a half, the explorers sailed along the entire coast from Port Royal to the Kennebec River. In the course of this voyage a visit was made to the natives of the St. Jean. On this voyage the missionary encountered the natives of the second river, whose shores would one

[15] *Jes Rel.*, Letter of January 31, 1612, II, 53.

[16] Letter to Very Rev. Claude Aquaviva, Jan. 31, 1612, *Jes. Rel.*, II, 49.

day be the site of a flourishing Indian mission. Two strong motives had impelled him to accompany the French exploring party, one to give spiritual assistance to Biencourt and his men and the other to observe and study the dispositions of the inhabitants. Although he does not expressly state it, it seems reasonable to suppose that he had in mind the selection of a place suitable for a permanent mission. The party made its way up the Kennebec and with some misgivings attempted to establish friendly relations with the natives. The Indians of this vicinity were inclined to be suspicious of the intentions of the white strangers for their experiences with the English had rendered them extremely wary. As a matter of fact they were still manifesting a decided unrest as a result of the Popham-Gilbert episode.

The visits of the early English adventurers had done little to inspire in the natives a feeling of confidence. When no overt act marked the contemptuous attitude of the Englishmen, it was apparent to the simplest native that the main purpose of the intercourse was exploitation. Gosnold (*Relation* of 1602) marks "the goodly groves and woods and sundry sorts of beast" but apparently has no eyes for the inhabitants. Describing the voyage of Martin Pring in the year following, Gorges says, "Pring made a perfect discovery of all these eastern rivers and harbors and brought the most exact account of the coast that has ever come to hand."[17] Pring however was not concerned with the inhabitants. Of those living on the coast of Maine he remarks, "we found people with whom we had no long conversations because here also we could find no sassafras." Not until the expedition of Weymouth (1605) is there any account of the Maine Indians. From the narrative left by Rosier, we have definite information. He tells of the friendliness of the natives, the mutual visits, the exchange of commodities and the feeling of general satisfaction until that act of treachery by which there was implanted in the heart of the savage a distrust of the Englishman and a hatred of the English name.[18] The five

[17] F. Gorges, *A Brief Narrative etc.* (Prince Soc. Pub., Boston, 1890), 11.

[18] This expedition was sent out under the patronage of a prominent Catholic nobleman, Sir Thomas Arundell, Earl of Wardour. His partner

natives who were kidnapped were well-treated and carried back to England where three of them were presented to Sir Ferdinand Gorges. He taught them English and in turn learned from them all that he could concerning the land from which they had been taken. He mentions the episode as "this accident which must be acknowledged to be the means of putting on foot and giving life to all our plantation." But the seed of distrust had been sown and when two years later the Popham-Gilbert expedition approached the shores seeking an advantageous position for a trading-post, the natives fled in terror. One of the former captives who accompanied the English party called to them to reassure them but it was with difficulty that the post was established. Various versions have come down to account for the disruption of friendly relations but it is not necessary to single out any particular incident to explain the outbreak of savage hostility. The Indians, ill-treated and insulted, resented the aggressive demeanor of the English; the dissatisfaction increased after the death of Popham, when the morale of the settlement was completely broken down. During the winter the store-house was burned and no food could be obtained from the Indians. Gilbert discouraged at the prospect, abandoned the fort and with the remaining colonists returned to England.[19]

The French then had good reason to feel some anxiety concerning the welcome that would be given them by the natives of the Kennebec. Père Biard because of his appearance among them without arms or weapons of any kind was received graciously by the chief Meteourmite. Their dispositions were all that could be desired and more than had been expected. On the return trip he visited the Indians of the St. Jean River. He found here the young Pontgravé established and comparatively skillful in the use

in the enterprise was the Earl of Southampton. The entire undertaking has always been more or less of a mystery. It has been suggested that Arundell who was a Papal Count may have had in mind the establishment of a Catholic settlement. This seems the more probable as a document in the Roman archives indicates that a Catholic priest was in the party. It has been thought that the chronicler, James Rosier, was the priest alluded to.—*Rosier's Relation of Weymouth's Voyage.*

[19] Strachey's account, Me. Hist. Soc. *Coll.*, first series, III, 297.

of native speech.[20] Père Biard sought permission from Biencourt to remain with him and learn enough of the language that he might compose a Catechism in the Indian tongue. This was not permitted. Later his companion Père Massé spent some time on the St. Jean endeavoring to become proficient in the language. His host and teacher was Louis Membertou, sagamore of the St. Jean and son of the chief who had been the first convert of the French mission.

Père Biard was a man highly respected in the order of which he was a member, "un homme de mérite et d'une vertu eprouvée, prêtre d'un zèle ardent." Yet his reputation has suffered somewhat at the hands of modern writers. One critic finds "that Father Biard's *Relations* are very interesting as geographical and ethnological records but they lack the ring of the missionary devotee which sounds so clearly in the letters of the later Jesuit apostles to the Indians."[21] As he points to no evidence within the relations to justify this conclusion, it is difficult to understand how it was reached. The interesting and important information which the Jesuit gathered in the four years of his stay in the New World and which he transmitted to his Superiors would not necessarily reflect upon his zeal for the salvation of souls. His previous experience, as scholar and professor had provided a training which made possible the geographical records mentioned. His reports contain an account of the country, its coasts, and indentations; its climate and its products; the characteristics of its inhabitants,

[20] Robert, son of the St. Malo trader Pontgravé, had involved himself in difficulties with Poutrincourt on two counts. First for carrying on illicit trade with the Indians; secondly for having carried off an Indian woman, wife of one of the chiefs. Poutrincourt had seized the ship, the sailors and the guilty Pontgravé but subsequently released the ship and the sailors. The young man fled to the savages with whom he lived for more than a year. Père Biard saw much good in him; "He is a man of great physical and mental strength, excelled by none of the savages in the chase, in alertness and endurance and in his ability to speak their languages." The missionary succeeded in bringing about a reconciliation between Pontgravé and the ruler of the colony. This was the man whom the Jesuit met on the St. Jean river.—*Jes. Rel.*, I, 309, 316; II, 101.

[21] J. Douglas, *New England and New France* (New York, 1913), 424, 425.

domestic, industrial, and political. It is noteworthy that he calls especial attention to the waterways as though foreseeing the part which they will play in the drama of the continent. Other unpleasant epithets have been applied to his name such as those used in the following excerpts: "The *notorious* Biard was here earlier but his advent among the Canibas was more that of an explorer than a teacher of the propaganda of the Church." "The buried footprints of the *treacherous* Biard." [22] There are two reasonable explanations for this unfavorable attitude. The first may be found in the unfortunate circumstances attending the foundation of the first mission. The French King, Henry IV, had destined the Jesuits for the work of the American mission and had so expressed himself to his Jesuit confessor, Père Coton. The general Claude Aquaviva selected Pères Pierre Biard and Ennèmond Massé to accompany the founders of the colony. Such was the opposition shown towards them, however, that in order to secure passage for them, the Marquise de Guercheville purchased a share in the enterprise which share she then turned over to the priests. In doing this she stipulated that the leaders of the colony should render annually to the Jesuits a certain sum for the maintenance of themselves and their mission. This wise arrangement caused unfavorable criticism then and since. "C'est ce contrat d'association qui a fait tant semer de bruit de plaintes et de crieries contre les Pères Jesuites." [23] Governor Lincoln (of Maine) apparently not without some misgivings attempts to explain the transaction: "a charitable donation of two thousand crowns enables the pious fathers not only to remove the difficulty but to make some provision of temporal goods by the purchase of a share in the adventure. This measure has been satirically remarked upon; but it would be well to remember that the duty of benevolence to their order was considered of primary obligation." [24] Francis Parkman comments caustically, "Thus did Madame de Guercheville or in other words,

[22] H. Sylvester, *Land of St. Castin* (Boston, 1909), 163.

[23] Champlain, III, i.

[24] Lincoln Mss. paper, "Some account of the Catholic Missions of Maine," Me. Hist. Soc. *Coll.*, first series, I, 323 f. Governor Enoch Lincoln was chief magistrate of Maine 1826-1829.

the Jesuits who used her name as a cover, become proprietors of the greatest part of the United States and British Provinces." [25]

A second explanation may be found in the attempt on the part of the English to justify the action of Argall. If the narrator of the *Relation* can be proved untrustworthy and undeserving of credence, the reputation of the English adventurer will improve thereby. Hence it has been asserted that Père Biard conceived the notion of putting the entire episode into writing some years later when he wished to clear himself of the charge brought against him by the French of Port-Royal.[26]

Of those associated with Father Biard on this first mission the only one to make the Canadian missions his life work was Père Ennèmond Massé. According to Rochemonteix he was naturally of an impetuous nature, which he controlled only with difficulty and this by indomitable energy and perseverance. Less gifted in intellect than his companion, he was an indefatigable worker, blessed with a vigorous constitution. He had prepared himself for the foreign missions by penance and fasting; he slept on a plank, he accustomed his appetite to any sort of fare; and subjected his body to all changes of heat and cold. In 1608 he had been appointed *socius* to Père Coton, the King's director, but he begged his superiors to send him on the Canadian mission. He could do many things; the colonists at Port-Royal said of him "homme à tout faire, au besoin bon scieur d'ais, bon calfeutreur et bon architecte." Upon a later mission Père Le Jeune playfully nicknamed him *le père utile*.[27] When he returned to France in consequence of the destruction of St. Sauveur, he taught at the College of Henri IV at La Flèche. But his heart was in the missions and during the ten years of his teaching, he recounted so alluringly the opportunities for saving souls in the wilds of the Canadian mission field that when he crossed the Atlantic the second time there accompanied him Fathers Charles Lalemant, Jean

[25] F. Parkman, *Pioneers of France in the New World* (Boston, 1865), 297.

[26] Notes sur la Nouvelle France, 1616, *Jes. Rel.*, III, 21; IV, 166.

[27] C. de Rochemonteix, *Les Jésuites et la Nouvelle France* (Paris, 1895), Chap. I, passim. *Jes. Rel.*, I, 314-15; VI, 37.

de Brebeuf and two coadjuteurs, Francis Charton and Gilbert Buret. Père Massé died at Sillery, May 12, 1646.

Father Jacques Quentin, the companion of du Thet, was born at Abbéville, France, February 1572, and entered the order of the Jesuits, June 30, 1604. In 1609 he went to the College of Eu as acting superior. Four years later he was selected for the Acadian mission. Upon his return to France he devoted himself to preaching and teaching in the smaller cities and villages.[28] To Frère Gilbert du Thet, lay brother of the Society, Madame de Guercheville had confided the temporal affairs of the mission. No easy task was his. Despite his best endeavors the Jesuits' interests suffered because of the cupidity of the French leaders. He had been obliged to carry back to France (June, 1612) a report of the sad state of affairs at Port-Royal; in March of the same year he returned to Acadia accompanied by Père Jacques Quentin. With them they brought all of the equipment necessary for the new mission—tents, horses, arms, munitions, and thirty men. Frère du Thet was as vigorous in action as he was fearless in speech, a trait which was to cost him his life. In the panic which arose among the French at the sight of the English vessel, he it was who took the post of the absent cannonier and responded to the fire of the enemy. He fell mortally wounded.[29]

[28] In the preface to one of the letters of Père Lalemant (IV, 1616-1629) is this note by O'Callaghan: "The Reverend Father Charles Lallement entered the Society of Jesus at the age of twenty years. In 1613 he accompanied M. de la Sassaye to Pentagouet. Argall took possession of this settlement and Father Lallement returned to France whence he departed for Canada in 1625." Shea agrees (*Missions*, p. 132) but this is an error. In the first place had he been with the first band of missionaries, Biard would have mentioned the fact, and moreover the records show him to have been at the College of Nevers during the years 1612-1615, (Catal. Prov. Franc. arch. gen.).

[29] Père Biard in his *Relation* of 1614 (*Jes Rel.*, III, 9) says: "I went to the English captain and obtained from him that I and Father Jacques Quentin, my companion and *also John Dixon* who had been admitted into the society . . . should be transported to the neighboring islands where the English usually fish." This is the only mention of John Dixon.

Recollects on the St. Jean.

During the eight years following the destruction of the French settlements in Acadie, the English failed to follow up their conquest with any colonies. Meanwhile two companies of Bordeaux, the one interested in fishing, the other in the fur trade, planned some settlements in these parts. They called upon the Recollects of Aquitaine to furnish missionaries. According to LeClercq three priests and a brother formed the band;[30] Père Pacifique evidently following Rameau, says that three came in 1619, three more in 1624, and a last trio in 1630,[31] Of the first group, one remained at Port-Royal, another took a station on the river St. Jean, while the third located his mission at Miscou at the entrance to the Baie des Chaleurs. Of the earlier Recollects we know the names of five: Père Bernardin,[32] Jacques de la Foyer, Louis Fontiner, Jacques Cardou.[33] Moreau adds André Ronsard.

In 1620 Père Sebastian established a mission at Nipissiguit (Bathhurst) where he remained for three years. Whether his work of converting and teaching extended to the natives west of the St. Jean there is no record to show. LeClercq tells the little that is known concerning his death. The missionary set out from Miscou to the St. Jean River "where the chief mission of the Recollects had been established." According to the Indians who brought the tale to Quebec, the Recollect had been overcome by hunger and fatigue somewhere in the woods between Miscou and Port-Royal.[34]

When and why the first Recollect missions in Acadia were relinquished cannot be definitely stated. Wadding places the date as 1623 and gives as the reason the breaking up of the Bordeaux companies.[35] According to LeClercq it would be 1624 for he fixes

[30] LeClerq, *First Establishment of the Church in New France* (Shea trans. 1881), I, 200.

[31] Pacifique, *Etudes Historiques et Géographiques*, 7.

[32] Le Tac cited by Hugolin calls him Bernardin as does LeClercq in the *New Relation;* in the *Establishment of the Faith* he names him Sebastian; Wadding at one time uses Sebastianus Miscovia, but at another, Bernardin.

[33] LeClercq writes Cardon, I, 227.

[34] LeClercq, I, 201.

[35] Wadding, *Annales Minorum*, XXV, 1619.

the arrival of three Acadian missionaries at Quebec just subsequent to the departure of Champlain which took place August 15, 1624: "They had left the mission which they had on the St. John River in consequence of orders which they had received from the Provincial in France." [36] There is, however, a contradiction both in date and in motive since he says somewhat later, "our Reverend Recollect Fathers from the Province of Aquitaine who had from 1619 given so many proofs of their zeal for the establishment of the Faith in Acadia had been driven out by the English in 1628 but they were more fortunate than our Parisian Fathers in obtaining their return to their former mission after the King resumed possession of Canada." [37] Both Canada and Acadia were occupied by the English until 1632.

In 1621, King James had granted to Sir William Alexander, later Secretary of State for Scotland, a charter for all the land lying between the St. Croix and the St. Lawrence Rivers. In this document was used for the first time the name by which the land would be later known: "*Nova Scotia* contains all the land and islands lying within the promontory commonly called Sable. . . ." [38] Four years later the grant was renewed and extended by Charles I. The English settlements date from 1627 when David Kirk conveyed the sons of Alexander together with a handful of Scotch colonists to the site of the former Port-Royal. He returned from England, whither he had gone for reënforcements and for the necessary "letters of marque"; he seized the French fishing station of La Ralde at Miscou and captured all of the vessels in the harbor. Captain Charles Daniel, one of the Hundred Associates, retaliated by taking an English fort which was under the command of Lord Ewchiltree (or Ochiltree). The commander with his garrison and colonists was carried back to England. A French fort and settlement were established at Grand Cibou and christened St. Anne. The English lord protested against the pretensions of the King of France to Canada and all Acadia which he claimed belonged to the

[36] LeClercq, *op. cit.*, I, 226, 227.

[37] LeClercq, *op. cit.*, I, 345, 346.

[38] King's Patent to Sir Wm. Alexander, Knight, in *Royal Letters, Charters etc.* (Edinburgh, 1867).

King of England. He blamed Captain Daniel as the "agent of the Jesuits and the whole projector and plotter." [39]

Captain Daniel left at his newly established colony, the two Jesuits, Barthelemy Vimon and Alexandre de Vieuxpont. The former had come with the French captain in June 1629; the coming of the latter was the result of an accident. When in June, 1629, the Jesuit Fathers, Lalemant, Noyrot, and Vieuxpont with the lay-brother Malot, attempted to return to the missions of New France, their ship met with a violent storm off the coast of Acadia in the vicinity of Canseau (Canso). Father Noyrot and the brother lost their lives. Father Lalemant has left an account of the shipwreck in which he describes the last moments of the Jesuit as he went down into the waves with the words: "In manus, tuas Domine." [40] The others were picked up by a Basque fishing vessel; Père Lalemant returned to France but Père Vieuxpont asked and obtained permission to join Père Vimont at Grand Cibou. The two priests worked among the Indians in these places for about a year. Both were recalled to France in 1630. The mission was continued by the Jesuits Père Antoine Daniel and Ambroise Davost who came with Captain Daniel in 1632. They were occupied both among the French and the Indians until May 1633 when they embarked with Champlain, then on his way to Quebec.

Capuchins on the Penobscot.

When Henry IV desired missionaries to spread the teachings of Christ in the colony which he was about to sponsor in the New World, he called upon Père Coton to procure from the Jesuit Provincial men suitable for the task.[41] Père Biard says that the King also wrote to Pope Paul V in October, 1608, concerning the new mission, but if this be so, the message cannot be considered a formal application for workers but rather a mark of courtesy

[39] Mem. of Lord Ochiltree, Jan. (?), 1630.

[40] *Jes. Rel.*, IV, 235 ff.

[41] "Rex patri Cotono significat velle se uti sociorum opera in Barbaris illis ad Christum adjungendis; proinde scriberet ad Generalem societatis Praepositum suo nomine, uti designarentur Patres in eam rem . . ." Annuae litterae de 1612-1614, *Jes. Rel.*, II, 210.

towards the Pontiff. Champlain's application to the Recollects of Aquitaine for missionaries met with no success because differences arose as to where lay the jurisdiction. When Reverend Bernard du Verger, the Provincial, sent two religious to the nuncio at Paris asking advice, they were instructed to write to Rome to the procurator of the order. At length, discouraged by the number of obstacles which they encountered, they refused to undertake any missions for the time. However the application was then made to Reverend Jacques Garnier de Chapouin, the first Provincial of the Recollects of the Province of St. Denis, who accepted without demur; the nuncio at Paris granted permission to begin preparation whilst they awaited the papal brief, which his Holiness issued under date of March 20, 1618.[42] In 1625, the Recollects asked for members of the Society of Jesus to assist in the American missions and it was the Provincial of Paris, Père Coton, who gave the consent and made the appointments. Thus it would appear that during the early part of the seventeenth century there was no uniformity respecting the jurisdiction or authorization of missions. The initial step, the organization and consummation of the apostolic mission was at the discretion of the order or society which sent it forth. Père Candide claims for the Capuchins the honor of initiating, promoting, and carrying through the idea of a Sacred Congregation of the Propaganda. He says that Père Cherubin de Maurienne, companion of St. Francis de Sales, proposed the plan to Pope Clement VIII in 1599; that Jerome de Narni worked out the design which was followed by Gregory XV; and that Cardinal Barberini, a member of the order and brother of Pope Urban VIII, was the first Cardinal-Prefect of the Propaganda.

It seems however that the organization was the result of a slow evolution which reached the final stage in the seventeenth century. This resultant was the outcome of two factors: the need of an organism which would look after the needs of the Church in newly discovered lands; and the recent system of governing by Congregations which had grown up during the Counter-Reformation.[43]

[42] LeClercq, *Establishment of the Faith.* The Brief of Paul V, and the Patent of the King are both printed in Vol. I, 74-80.

[43] U. Benigni, "Propaganda," *Cath. Ency.*, Vol. XII, 456.

From the pontificate of Pope Gregory XIII (1572-1585) to 1622 there existed although without definite form a *cardinalitial commission de propaganda fide.* By the Bull *Inscrutabili Divinae* of June 22, 1622, Pope Gregory XV instituted the Sacred Congregation de propaganda fide. His successor, Pope Urban VIII, by the Bull *Immortalis Dei* of August 1, 1627 established a Seminary of the Propaganda—Collegium Urbanum.

In the cases of missions thus far cited, the motive in every instance was the conversion of heathen nations. The first mission proposed by the Capuchin order differed in this, that it had for its aim "to impede the progress of Puritanism and to minister to the Catholic settlers" of New England. The Capuchin writers tell the story thus. The English Carmelite, Simon Stock, represented to the Holy See the urgent need of sending priests to America to save those Catholics who were being subjected to Puritan influences. Propaganda took the matter under consideration and then called upon the Nuncio at Brussels to investigate and give a report of the situation. He expressed his belief that the need of such a mission existed and suggested that for the carrying out of the plan recourse be had to the Ministers of France, Spain, and London. Père Candide says that the Congregation sent a *decretum,* 22 November, 1630, to P. Joseph telling him to send a mission to New England. There seems to be no explanation as to why the work was not undertaken then nor later. In 1632, the Capuchins asked and obtained from Propaganda the privilege of extending the New England mission to New France.[44]

When after the Treaty of St. Germain (March 29, 1632) the missionaries were to return to New France, Richelieu expressed it as his opinion that the missions would get along better under "un seul Ordre religieux" and his choice fell upon the Capuchins. As a matter of fact Richelieu had decided that if he could not limit the field to one order, he would invite the three orders to share the missions. Only the Jesuits and the Capuchins went however; the Recollects were not prepared to leave with the others and could

[44] Candide, *Pages Glorieuses,* 98 ff.; Rev. J. Lenhart (A. C. H. S. *Rec.*) Vol. XXVII (1916), 191 ff.

not obtain the permission later.[45] Six Capuchins accompanied Razilly to Acadia in 1632; they established themselves at Hève on the southwestern coast. Unlike the Jesuits, the Capuchins have left few accounts of their missions. Only one of any length has been found and that was not written until 1656; little, then, is known of the early years. Until the finding of this *Relation* of Père Ignatius of Paris it was thought that the Fathers confined themselves entirely to the care of their own countrymen. It might have been concluded from some of the clauses of the letters patent of De Charnizay that one of the functions of the priests would be the spiritual care of the natives; for example: "That we desire with all our hearts for the Glory of God, the increase of the Faith and the Christian Religion the salvation of the souls of the poor Indians who live in ignorance without any religion nor knowledge of God as much for his honor and glory as for our Crown."[46] Moreover, the fact that they conducted successful seminaries for Indian children at Port-Royal would be indicative of their interest in native conversions. The following table shows the location of their permanent missions and the time spent in each.

Port-Royal, now Annapolis, Nova Scotia.....1632-1654
Fort Pentagoet, now Castine, Maine.....1652-1654
Fort St. John, now St. John, New Brunswick.....1645-1654
La Hève, Nova Scotia.....1632 till about 1640
Fort Latour, Nova Scotia.....1632-1633 or 4
Fort St. Peter, Nova Scotia.....1645 or 1646 to 1655
Nepigiquit, New Brunswick.....1648 or earlier till 1654[47]

[45] The account given by R. P. Odoric-Marie Jouve, O. F. M. would indicate that the Recollects had returned to the New World before the Capuchins set out. He says (*Les Franciscains et Le Canada*, I, 285) "Les Récollets reprirent donc leurs travaux apostoliques en Acadie et ils se dévouaient à la desserte des Francais et à l'évangelization des Sauvages dans ces parages, lorsqu'en 1632, le 16 mars, de par sa volanté souveraine, obtempérant au désir du Père Du Tremblay, Richelieu donna, au nom du roi, ordre au sieur de la Tour qui commandait en Acadie de faire repasser en France tous les missionnaires séculiers ou reguliers de la contrée, et d'y mettre à leur place les Capuchins. Ce qui fut executé."

[46] Lettres patentes en faveur du Sieur de Charnizay (*Collection de manuscripts*), I, 121.

[47] Lenhart, *loc. cit.*, 219.

In addition to these permanent stations there were according to the *Relation* many temporary mission posts among the Indians throughout Acadia and northern Maine. Mentioning the work of one missionary, Father Ignatius says: "I say nothing of the numberless savages throughout Acadia, who under his ministrations and those of the other missionaries winged their flight to heaven during the past years. The sheep of the Capuchin missionaries are everywhere scattered throughout Acadia."[48] At least twelve priests and five brothers were on the Acadian mission in 1648. Some of these are mentioned in the *Relation* of Père Ignatius, others in the *Relations* of the Jesuits. P. Archange de Luynes came as visitor in 1646; P. Pascal de Troyes was superior. P. Ignatius himself was local superior of the hospice at Pentagoët when Père Druillettes visited there in 1646. Gabriel de Joinville spent much of his time among the natives: "in order to master that difficult and beautiful tongue . . . he remained for a whole year alone in the woods with the savages, during which time he suffered so severely from privation and destitution of all kinds that under the stress of his great affliction and suffering, the skin of his body was thrice cast off and changed."[49] Père Cosmas de Mantes was superior of Pentagoët following Père Ignatius and he it was who wrote to the Jesuits expressing his willingness that they should conduct missions on the Kennebec although this territory was properly under the jurisdiction of the Capuchins. Some have thought that he made the visit to Sillery in person, basing their judgment on the baptismal records found there signed in his writing.[50] Père Candide thinks the visit improbable. After the English seized Port-Royal in 1654 there remained only two Capuchin missionaries. Balthazar of Paris was still at his mission at Nepigiquit; of him Père Ignatius had said that he knew the language of his neophytes as well as he knew his native French and that he had converted more Abenaki than had all of the other missionaries. He went to France to report conditions in Acadia but re-

[48] Letter of Father Ignatius *re Acadia*. In Latin with an English translation, *Canada Reports on Acadian Archives*, 1904. Appendix H.

[49] *Relation* of Père Ignatius (supra).

[50] Lenhart, 307. L'abbé Scott, *Histoire de N. D. de Ste-Foy*.

turned in 1656. Nothing further is known about him. The other priest, Père Augustin of Pontoise, kept his post at Fort St. Peter, Canso, with the two Capuchin brothers, Felix of Rheims and Elzear of St. Florentin. The last-named had been nine or ten years at Pentagoët and had been very successful there especially in the work among the Indians. These three Capuchins left for France in 1655. About forty Capuchin missionaries have been accounted for in the Acadian mission field between 1632 and 1655.[51]

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[51] "Si nous adjutons les trois naufragés des premiers temps, nous arrivons à un total de près de quarante missionaires qui quittèrent leur couvent pour l'Acadie, sans parler des préfets qui, de France, travaillaient au bien de la mission." Père Candide, *op. cit.*, 293.

CHAPTER III.

The Kennebec and the Penobscot (1646-1700).

During the first half of the seventeenth century the Abenaki on the Kennebec resorted more frequently to the English trading houses at the mouth of that river than they did to the French settlements on the St. Lawrence. In 1629 the colony of Plymouth in the name of John Bradford obtained from the Council of Plymouth at Devon, a tract of land "from Colbanee Contee to Nequanhiki and the space of fifteen miles on either side of the Kennebec." Eight settlers including Bradford, Winslow and Allerton made an agreement with the colony to farm the trade. As soon as this patent had been acquired, a trading post was established upon the Kennebec "a house up above in that river in the most convenient place for trade."[1] The tract known as the Kennebec patent was surrendered to the colony at large in 1640 and held by Plymouth until 1661. Under this patent right to territory, the Colony claimed the monopoly of the Indian traffic on the Kennebec. Another English settlement on the island of Arrowsic brought the natives in touch also with the English traders. The Indians gained little good from the contact. When visited by Père Druillettes in 1646, they had acquired the least desirable traits of white civilization: "they were much given to drunkenness and had no business with any but the English; from these heretics and from the vessels on the coast, they got the liquor which turned their heads."[2] There is no record of an attempt on the part of the English to offer the savage the truths of Christianity but they did supply him with food, the liquor which he craved and those petty luxuries of an alien civilization to which he was becoming accustomed. And yet when the Indians of this region had to make the choice between the European rivals they abandoned the group which could best promote their material interests and declared their alliance with the nation which could supply them with missionaries.

[1] W. Bradford, *Plymouth Plantations* (New York, 1908), 233.
[2] *Jes. Rel.*, XXIV, 61.

The Mission of the Assumption.

The story of the Mission of the Assumption on the Kennebec has been frequently told. There seems however to be no agreement upon the initial steps in the process. The story is to be found in no one narrative; it must be gleaned from various portions of the *Relations* and pieced together to form the whole. Père Maurault and those who have followed his version would place the first act in the year 1640 when one of the Algonkian converts from the Sillery mission in order to escape the disciplinary measures which would follow his lapse into polygamy, fled to the Abenaki of the Kennebec for asylum. Here shortly afterwards he was killed in a drunken brawl. According to Indian custom, the members of the tribe in which the mishap had occurred hastened to the Canadian mission to offer reparation to the relatives of the deceased. No cordiality marked the reception of the envoys and had it not been for the intervention of two Christian Indians, one of whom was Charles Meiaswat, the Abenaki would not have escaped with their lives. A treaty was arranged between the tribes and from this date began the friendly relations which afterward existed.

Shea's narrative differs from this: he describes the seizure of some Abenaki by pagan Algonkians in 1642 at a time when no war existed between the tribes. The captors proceeded to torture the prisoners with the greatest cruelty but in this case too the captives are rescued. Charles again figures as the good Samaritan; he is accompanied not by a fellow native but by the explorer Nicolet. The latter lost his life in the rapids of a stream while on his way to the rescue.

It is probable that these are but different renderings of the same event. The truth seems to be that the Kennebec Indians had been resorting to the Christian mission at Sillery for some time. Here and there in the *Relations* there is an allusion which shows that they with other tribes were no strangers at the mission.[3] In the

[3] The Algonkin mission of St. Joseph at Sillery had the following origin: Brulard Sillery one of the first members of *la Compagnie de la Nouvelle France* gave to the Jesuits a considerable sum of money to carry out his plan of an Indian Reduction which would comprise a Church, a residence

report of the year 1642-1643 a statement occurs that the nuns at the hospital were caring for about one hundred savage patients of various nations. Among the number were some Abenaki. Somewhat further on in the same narrative one of these is mentioned by name: "By good luck there was at the hospital a sick Abnaquiois, baptised and called Claude." [4]

No one has shown a more just perception of the accomplishment of the Jesuit missionaries in New France than Francis Parkman; none has surpassed him in charm of narrative or grace of style, and yet due to ignorance or prejudice the most beautiful passages are frequently marred by unwarranted interpretations and unworthy inuendo. No more beautiful description is to be found of Père Druillettes' mission than that given by Parkman. He has just described the Good Friday scene on the Kennebec—the best robe laid upon the snow to furnish a resting place for the Crucifix. He continues:

> What was their prayer? It was a petition for the forgiveness of their enemies, the Iroquois. Those who know the intensity and tenacity of an Indian hatred will see in this something more than a change from one superstition to another. An idea has been presented to the mind of the savage to which he had previously been an utter stranger. This is the most *remarkable record of the success in the whole body of the Jesuit Relations* but it is very far from being the only evidence, that in teaching the dogmas and observances of the Catholic Church, the missionaries taught them also the morals of Christianity.[5]

Despite this appreciation of the success of the missionary it seems difficult for Parkman to credit the man of God with single-mindedness in the performance of his acts. Thus when the Kennebec Abenaki plead at Sillery for a Blackrobe who shall return with them to their people, this writer adds: "Apart from saving souls there were solid reasons for acceding to their request. The

for the missionaries, a hospital for the sick, houses for the neophytes and a fort to protect them against the dreaded attacks of the Iroquois. Here the Algonkins and the Montagnais became sedentary and lived lives of industry and devotion.—Rochemonteix, I, 247 f.

[4] *Jes. Rel.*, XXIV, 161, 183.

[5] F. Parkman, *Jesuits in North America* (Boston, 1867), II, 139. (Italics inserted).

Abenaki were near the colonies of New England . . . and in case of a rupture they proved serviceable friends or dangerous enemies of New France."[6] There was no warrant for this assertion. At this period neither French governor nor French missionary was cultivating the friendship of these tribes through interested motives. In fact, the Abenaki were discouraged from resorting to New France. The Jesuit journal reads: "On the 16th and 17th the Abnakios arrived to the number of 30; they are notified that they are not to come again and that their goods will be plundered if they return. . . . The Abnaquois take their departure and carry 20 bundles of Beaver."[7] This policy is also found in one of the *Relations:* "They have no thought of coming to Kebec to trade, for they were notified in the year 1646 that one or two Canoes were enough for coming every year to renew the alliances which they have with the new Christians of Saint Joseph (Sillery.) . . . Consequently they have no hope either as individuals or as a people of reaping any temporal advantage from the coming of our Fathers to their Country."[8] Parkman reproduces sympathetically Père Lalemant's description of the sufferings and hardships which Druillettes endured in the winter hunt; he quotes appreciatively the motive which made these harsh experiences bearable "with toil too great to buy the kingdoms of this world, but very small as a price for the Kingdom of Heaven!" and then depicts the same individual acting as a political agent for the French government and as a spy upon the English settlements in Maine.[9]

Upon his first visit to Maine, Père Druillettes visited Cushnoc and seven or eight other English settlements on the coast. At all of these he was cordially received. The Capuchin superior at Pentagoët, Father Ignatius, "made him," says the *Relations,* "all the welcome possible." Sieur Chaste provided him with letters to the English agent at Cuchnoc in which the latter was assured that the Father was not at all interested in trade, as the natives could

[6] F. Parkman, *Jesuits in North America,* II, 141.

[7] "Journal des Jesuites," July, 1649. *Jes. Rel.,* XXXIV, 57.

[8] *Relation* 1651-52. *Jes. Rel.,* XXXVIII, 41.

[9] "Apparently he had been told to reconnoitre; for he presently descended the river from Norridgewock to the first English trading post where Augusta now stands," *Jesuits in North America,* II, 142, 143.

bear witness; that he had come to the region for one purpose only, that of instructing them in the truths of Christianity. His mission on the Kennebec was exceptionally successful, the Indians docile and appreciative. Before the results of his instructions and his own example could be recognized in the changed lives of his neophytes, he had to accomplish three tasks: to wean his Indians from the use of intoxicants which they could obtain without difficulty from the traders and fishers on the coast; to secure intra-tribal peace which was constantly violated by petty jealousy and domestic quarrels; and to weaken the influence of the medicine-men who unceasingly opposed his efforts.

Père Druillettes had left Sillery on the 29th of August, 1646; he returned to Quebec on the 15th of June, 1647. Despite the repeated requests of the Abenaki, he did not visit the Kennebec for two years. The reluctance of the Jesuit superior to send missionaries to this region is found in one of the letters: "the district is not within our jurisdiction." The region of the Kennebec was part of the mission of Acadia which had been entrusted to the Capuchins; these had written to the Jesuits asking them not to return to the Abenaki mission. This letter and the answer to it are not available, hence it is not possible to account for the Capuchins' reluctance. Père Candide suggests some of the following reasons; that it was an inopportune time for an intensive propaganda in a country inhabited by the English; that Protestant fanaticism, Iroquois hostility and political complications rendered the enterprise ill-timed and inadvisable.[10] Whether conditions of which we have no knowledge changed or whether the new Jesuit superior was conquered by the importunities of the savages, he yielded to their desire. At this time too the following fraternal epistle was received from the new superior of the Capuchins, Père Cosme de Mantes:

> We conjure your Reverence by the sacred charity of Jesus and Mary, for the salvation of those poor souls that call you to the south to give them all the help your courageous and indefatigable benevolence can afford them and even if on your way to the Kennebec you should meet with some of our order that you would do us the pleasure of making known to them your

[10] R. P. Candide, *op. cit.*, 254.

> wants; and that if you do not meet any of them, you will continue, if it seems good to you, your holy instructions to these poor and neglected barbarians to the utmost which your service of love will permit.[11]

The result was that Père Druillettes returned to the Maine mission.

The Jesuit Ambassador.

For thirty-five years the Iroquois had pursued the Hurons with implacable enmity; the end came in 1650 with the obliteration of the Huron nation. The destruction of the Petuns, in which assault both Père Garnier and Père Chabanal laid down their lives, was followed by the extinction of the Neutrals (1651). From 1641 neither French nor Indian allies knew a moment of security. Was it then any wonder that Père Druillettes accepted eagerly the rôle of legate to the New England Colonies to arrange a treaty which would result in the preservation of his neophytes on the Kennebec? No historian before the middle of the nineteenth century gave more than a passing word to this embassy of 1651, because so little was known concerning it. Both the French Charlevoix and the English Hutchinson confess ignorance of the details. But in 1857 there appeared in the *New York Historical Society Collections,* a set of documents annotated and edited by John Gilmary Shea. A copy of Père Druillettes' journal had been found and also his letter to Edward Winslow.[12] Shea expressed an opinion which opens up an

[11] *Jesuit Relation* of 1651.

[12] The following is a list of all of the documents now available which throw light on the mission of Druillettes to New England:

(1) Epistola ad Joannem Winthrop Scutarium Gabriel Druillettes n. p. 1651 *Jes. Rel.*, XXXVI, 74-81.

(2) Narré du Voyage . . . et des connaissances tirez de la Nouvella Angleterre. Gabriel Druillettes n. p. 1651. *Jes. Rel.*, XXXVI, 112-149.

(3) Reflexions touchant ce qu'on Peut Esperer de la Nouvelle Angleterre contre l'Irocquois. *Jes. Rel.*, XXXVI, 104.

(4) Letter from Druillettes published in *Notes sur les Registres de Notre Dame de Quebec.* Ferland.

(5) Journal des P. P. Jesuites Paul Ragueneau: Quebec, Feb.-Dec. 1652. *Jes. Rel.*, XXXVII, 92-119.

interesting line of thought. He says that the plan conceived by the four colonies when forming the New England Confederation has never been understood; they intended to include in the alliance the neighboring French and Dutch colonies "so as to form a continental union of the various European colonies; proposing that each with its own religion, its own language, its own manners should, while it extended its own limits by industry and enterprise, form with the rest one friendly body whose unity should be disturbed by no laws, no war, no intrigue of European courts." [13] The facts seem out of harmony with the above conclusion; far from desiring a bond of union with the neighboring colonies, they were forming this league because they lived "encompassed with people of several nations and strange languages" which thereafter might prove injurious to them or their posterity. Moreover to them it seemed out of the question to enter into fellowship with a people whose members practiced any form of Christian worship other than the Puritan. Winthrop in his diary so accounts for the exclusion of Maine and New Hampshire; "those of Sir Ferdinando Gorge, his province . . . were not called into the Confederation because they ran a different course from us both in their ministry and civil administration." [14] Rhode Island was barred for the like reason. Later however there was a change of policy; in the yearly meeting

(6) Lettre escrite par le Conseil de Quebec aux Commissaires de la Nouvelle Angleterre vintième de Juin mil six cent cinquante un. *Paris Doc. Relative to N. Y. Colonial Hist.*, IX, 5.

(7) Extrait des Registres de l'ancien Conseil de ce Pays, du vintième jour de Juin 1651. *Paris. Doc. Relative to N. Y. Col. Hist.*, IX, 6.

(8) Commission of Druillettes and Godefroy. *Paris Doc. Relative to N. Y. Col. Hist.*, IX, 6.

(9) Copy of a letter from the Commissioners of the United Colonies to the Governor of Canada. *Hazard Collection*, II, 183.

(10) Answer to the Propositions presented by the honored French agents. *Ibid.*, II, 184.

(11) Commission from de Montagny to Père Druillettes authorizing him to go to the Abenaquois. Appendix. Original in the Archives du Seminaire de Quebec.

[13] *N. Y. Hist. Coll.*, second ser., III, part 1, 303.

[14] *Winthrop's Journal*, II, 99 (New York, 1908).

of 1650 (Sept. 15), the New England Council discussed the possible inclusion of New Netherlands into the Confederation:

> Concerning the proposition of a nearer union of friendship and amity betwixt the English and the Dutch Nations in these parts especially against a common enemy, We judge worthy of due and serious consideration by the several jurisdictions of the United Colonies and accordingly desire it may be commended to that soe that Resolutions may be had therein at the next yearly meeting of the Commission.[15]

The reports of the Council meetings furnish no evidence of a similar discussion in behalf of the northern neighbor, but advances were made to the government of New France as early as the year 1647. Whether the proposals were made on the part of the United Colonies or on that of Massachusetts alone is not stated. The latter seems probable for Père Druillettes writing to the younger Winthrop speaks of "the letters which he (Governor Winthrop) sent, *in the name of your Commonwealth* . . . as far back as the year 1647, and which he long since would have brought to a happy conclusion had not death prevented him as I have learned from many responsible persons."[16] In the reply of the Commissioners to the envoys from New France in 1651, reference is made to this former proposal and the emphasis is laid upon the part taken by Massachusetts in the transaction. Mention is made of the "letters written by Mr. Winthrop and some other magistrates of *that jurisdiction.*"[17]

Père Druillettes has been characterized as "un de plus entreprenants de tous ces hommes d'action." Venturesome he showed himself when he set out for his mission among the Abenaki—the first white man to make the trip from the St. Lawrence to the Kennebec by way of the Chaudière and head waters of the Kennebec in bark canoe. Enterprising he was without doubt when he attempted to win New England Puritans to the aid of his dearly loved catechumens. But man of action that he was, there is another side of his character that perchance has been overlooked. His enterprises were not the result of hasty impulse but the fruit

[15] *Hazard Collections,* II, 170.
[16] *Jes. Rel.,* XXXVI, 75.
[17] *Hazard Collections,* II, 183.

of careful and mature deliberation. Writers have commented upon his temerity in thrusting himself into a community upon whose statute books there rested the *Massachusetts Act against the Jesuits,* (1647),[18] but did he jeopardize his cause by thus rashly exposing himself to imprisonment or worse? The act was not an encouragement to Jesuits to visit the Bay Colony, beginning as it did: "The Court taking into consideration the great Wars, Combustions, and Divisions which are today in Europe and that the same are observed to be raised and fomented, chiefly by the secret undermining and solicitations of the Jesuitical Order . . ." But Père Druillettes was careful to keep within the letter of the law, the latter portion of which provided "that this law shall not extend to any such Jesuite . . . come in company with any messenger hither upon Public occasion or Merchant or Master of any ship so as they depart again with the same . . . and behave themselves inoffensively during their abode here." John Winslow, the agent at Cuchnoc accompanied him upon the first visit to Boston; the representative of the Quebec government was with him upon the second.[19]

The ability to consider carefully all the aspects of an affair is manifested in his *Reflexions touchant ce qu'on Peut Esperer de la Nouvelle Angleterre contre l'Iroquois.* In the first point of his meditation he reflects upon the resources of the New England Colonies. He considers that they are well able to furnish men for the enterprise and likewise are in a suitable position geographically to render aid. He ponders the constitution of the Confederation which makes it needful that a majority (three out of four) should support a measure to assure its adoption. The prospects for securing Pleymoutch (Plymouth) he thinks favorable, for the governor of this colony together with four of its most important citizens are interested in the Kennebec trade;

[18] *Laws of Mass.*, Bay Edit. 1672 (Reprint, Boston), 1887, 67.

[19] "His agent, John Winslow having made his report to Sieur Gebin (Gibbons) regarding the occasion of my journey he received me as a veritable ambassador on the part of the Sieur Governor. He also gave me a key to an apartment in his house, where I could with complete liberty offer my prayer, and perform my religious exercises; and begged me to take no other lodgings while I should sojourn at Boston." *Jes. Rel.*, XXXVI, 88 ff. (Journal).

should the Abenaki be driven from the river by the Iroquois, this lucrative trade must cease. The colony of Boston has a like commercial interest; the loss of the Quebec trade at this time would be especially grievous since an Act of Parliament was about to restrict commercial intercourse with some of the West Indies. He hopes to secure the support of Connecticut through the younger Winthrop; to him he appeals to bring to a conclusion a design dear to the heart of his father, the elder Winthrop. As for the fourth and last member of the Confederation, New Haven, or, as he calls it, Kwinopopeia, it is likely that it will acquiesce in the decision of the other three.

Knowing that his best chance lay in an appeal to the commercial interests of the New England merchants, Père Druillettes leaves nothing unsaid that will persuade them that their own best advantage lay in this trade treaty with the French and an alliance with the Indians of Maine against the Iroquois. The most potent force operating in his own heart is zeal for the souls of his charges. In the letter to Winthrop he had said "These are in truth beyond all other mortals, that Hundredth Sheep straying and forsaken in the desert . . . he who burns with the most ardent zeal towards the Lord Jesus Christ must embrace with the most tender affection of his heart, that hundredth sheep in which alone that best of Shepherds, the Lord Jesus Christ seems to place his whole delight."[20] So it was that he turned to the Winslows, John and Edward. He knew that both had at heart the Christianizing of the Indians and that the latter had considerable influence. Edward Winslow acted as agent in England for both Plymouth and Massachusetts. He had been active in the foundation and continuance of the "Society for Propagating the Gospel among the Indians"; the Jesuit calls it a "brotherhood to train and instruct the savages." It had come into existence through the efforts of Winslow in 1649. He collected subscriptions in England to establish a fund, then secured the passage through Parliament of an act creating the corporation. The act passed by the Commonwealth Parliament sufficed until the Restoration when a new charter under Commissioners was granted.

[20] *Jes. Rel.*, XXXVI, 77.

One other precaution he had taken: this was to arrange a treaty between the Abenaki and the Sokoki so as to assure the assistance of the latter against the Iroquois. But in spite of the favorable outlook of the spring of 1651 after the first visit to Boston, all these well-laid plans came to naught. At the second visit which he made accompanied by M. Jean Godefroy, member of the Council at Quebec, the colonies of Plymouth and Massachusetts seem to have lost all interest; the ambassadors hastened to New Haven where the Council was sitting and presented their credentials: the letter from the French governor, a second from the Council of New France, and a third document "by which M. Gabriell Derwilets was sent to publish the doctrine of the Christian faith amongst the Indians."[21] The answer finally given was that the United Colonies were willing to settle a free commerce treaty between the English and French but were not desirous to enter into an offensive or defensive alliance against the Iroquois. The reason for the change of front is not known. Parkman's suggestion that the "Puritan like his descendant would not fight without a reason" is true enough, but it might be closer to the truth that when the Puritan did fight, it would be to protect his own best interests; he might approve the thesis: "the Kennebecs are baptised Christians or catechumens and should be protected against pagan Mohawks," but he would never dream of adopting it as a basis for a course of action. The Iroquois were a nation to be feared and to be cultivated and it behooved the New Englanders to form no alliance which would expose them to the enmity of the great Confederacy. There might have been another reason for the attitude of Massachusetts. According to the provisions of the Council "the charge of all just wars whether offensive or defensive shall both in men and Disbursements be borne by all parts of the Confederation in different proportions according to their different abilities." In the event of a war undertaken by the Confederation the heaviest burden fell on the Bay Colony.

When Père Ragueneau, author of the *Relations* for the year

[21] This third document is so described in the session of the Commissioners at New Haven. The original given by de Montmagny to Père Druillettes is in the Archives du Séminaire de Quebec. (See Appendix C, page 156.)

1651-1652, speaks of the return of Père Druillettes from the New England embassy, he alludes at the same time to another Jesuit who selected the mission field of Acadia as the scene of his apostolic labors. But this seems to be the only reference. For thirty years there is no record of a Jesuit in these parts. In the passage cited Père Ragueneau writes: "The emaciated countenance of the good Father did not deter another from setting out with five or six neophytes in little bark canoes to go to the shores of Acadia and by that route find an easier approach to the tribes called Etchemins, Abenaquios, Sokoquios . . . and numerous other savage nations which are sedentary." [22]

There is a quiet zealous worker who appears as Père Druillettes' companion on his various missions. This is the humble Jesuit Donné, Jean Guérin, whose contract with the Jesuit superior, Père Lalemant, is still preserved.[23] He accompanied the Jesuit on his mission of 1650. According to the *Journal:* "Le première (septembre 1650) partit Père Druillettes avec Jean Guérin pour les Abenaquios." He also was a member of the party which set out for New England in the following year; "L'année suivante, il se rend dans la Nouvelle Angleterre (22 juin 1651). Le Père Druillettes, M. Godefroy, et Jean Guérin partent avec les Abenaquinois et un Sokoquinois. . . ." [24] Upon the death of Père Druillettes a circular letter was sent to the other religious houses of the archdiocese. It began:

Quebec 8 of April, 1681.

Rev. Father,

We have to-day encountered a great loss in the death of Père Drouilletes which took place in the college after his having received the sacraments with all of the sentiments which was usual with him. He was 69 years of age, 36 of which he spent as a missionary in Canada. The extraordinary zeal which he had for the conversion of the natives and the great talent which God had given him for the languages had rendered him one of the best missionaries and caused him to labor in all parts of Canada with the greatest energy. Thirty years ago he was sent to New England for the good of our missions where he could not suffer more than he did.

[22] *Jes. Rel.*, XXXVII, 261.
[23] *Jes. Rel.*, XXI, 302.
[24] *Journal des Jesuites* (1650).

The remainder of the letter tells in detail the labors, sufferings and successes which attended the efforts of the self-sacrificing missionary.[25]

The English and the Penobscot.

The colonies of the Confederation considered it profitable to cultivate the friendship of the Five Nations even though they sacrificed the alliance with the Eastern Indians; a few years later, however, the governor of a colony outside the New England group laid careful plans to secure the support of both Iroquois and Abenaki. Charles II had commissioned the Governor of New York to take Penobscot and all the adjacent lands under his jurisdiction.[26] Thereupon Colonel Dongan planned to take possession of these lands in the name of the Duke of York. This fitted in well with his ambitious schemes to extend the territory of the English crown. His main objective was the control of the Ohio valley and the Great Lakes. To accomplish this he had to gain the ascendancy over the tribes of the Five Nations. The greatest obstacle which the English encountered in establishing dominance over these Indians was the presence of the Jesuit missionaries among them. Dongan did all in his power to remove this influence; he promised to secure English missionaries if the Iroquois would send away the French priests. To Denonville, the French governor, he wrote: "Than to be upon a right understanding with you and the government, there is nothing in the world I desire more. For the propagation of the Catholic Faith I am sure there is no prince more zealous than my master . . . he is sending missionaries over to live among the Indians." [27] His proposal was not received with enthusiasm, either by the Indians or by the French. The former responded: "If any of the Five Nations are inclined for English Jesuits they will come to acquaint your Excellency with it." [28]

In June, 1687, Dongan wrote to the Governor of New France:

[25] Memoires et Documents, 1660-1688. 5-2 Ottawa Archives.

[26] Memorial concerning the English Title to Penobscot. M. 381, 1698-1700 (transcript), Ottawa Archives.

[27] Dongan to Denonville, *Cal. St. P. Col.* (1685-88).

[28] Five Nations to Dongan, Dec. 1, 1686. *Col. Doc.*, N. Y., III, 443.

"I am daily expecting Religious men from England which I intend to put among those five nations."[29] To which Denonville replied:

> I should think Sir, that you ought to have awaited the decision of the differences between our Masters relative to the boundaries before dreaming of introducing religious men, among the Five Nations; your Charity, Sir, for the conversion of these people would have been more useful to them and more honorable to you had you commenced by lending some protection to the Missionaries they had for the advancement of religion, instead of taking pains to drive them from the missions and prevent them from converting the heathen. You cannot deny, Sir, that should our Missionaries leave, those poor infidels will be a long time without instruction if they must await the arrival of your religious men and until these have learned the languages.[30]

Dongan laid claim in behalf of the English not only to the country of the Iroquois but to all of the river of the St. Lawrence.[31] His second project was to remove the French from their position on the Penobscot River and to ally the natives of the region to the English interests. To accomplish this he sent orders to the Baron St. Castin that he and all the French inhabiting these places must depart immediately.[32] St. Castin was at this time holding the fort at Pentagoët.[33] Drake says of this interesting Frenchman, "A

[29] Dongan to Denonville, June 20, 1687. *Col. Docs.*, N. Y., III, 465.

[30] Denonville to Dongan, August 1687, *Col. Docs.*, N. Y., III, 469-472.

[31] Memoires sur les Usurpation des Anglais etc. Reglements des Limites, 1685-1700, CII, I. (transcript), Ottawa Archives.

[32] Ibid.

[33] As early 1556 the French had established a fishing station at this point, but not until after Argall's raid did they erect a fortification. In 1626 the English under Isaac Allerton set up a trading house here, partly for the purpose of traffic with the Indians, and partly for the purpose of preventing the occupation by the French. This settlement was pillaged by the French in 1632 and captured by d'Aulnay acting for Razilly, three years later. In the quarrel between d'Aulnay and LaTour, the latter appealed to Massachusetts for help in dislodging his opponent from Pentagoët. The French were in possession until 1654 when it was taken by the soldiers of Cromwell. By the Treaty of Breda (1667) it was restored to France, together with Nova Scotia. St. Castin commanded the fort under Grandfontaine. When war broke out between

good deal has been said and written about Mons. Casteins, but generally without conveying much information." [34] No other name occurs so frequently in the French correspondence concerning Acadia, and yet very little that is certain can be told about him. He came to Canada in 1665 as a member of the famous Carignon-Salières regiment. It must have been shortly after it was disbanded that he took up his abode on the Penobscot, probably about 1667. After marrying the daughter of the Penobscot chief, Madockwanda, he became more influential among the natives than the chief himself. His reputation has suffered at the hands of the historians but no evidence has been produced to substantiate the truth of their charges. Perrot, then governor of Acadia, complained of misconduct on the part of the Baron, and detained him at Port-Royal on a charge of a "weakness for some females." [35] But Perrot may have been influenced by the fact that there seemed at this time a possibility of St. Castin's replacing him as governor. The Baron had at least two Indian wives, for the parish register of the church, St. Jean Baptiste, Port-Royal, records the marriages of a son and a daughter of Sieur Vincent de St. Castin by the Dame Mathilde of the Parish of Ste. Famille, and also the marriage of a son of the Baron, by the Dame Marie Pidiaski. The scattered data that remain do not afford sufficient material from which to reconstruct the story of St. Castin and his family. For instance the son of Mathilda is said to have been Bernard Anselm d'Abbadie who studied at Quebec until 1704, married the daughter of Louis d'Amours, seigneur of Jemsec, and succeeded his father to the title.[36] However, the records of the Séminaire account for only one Bernard St. Castin who died in 1704.[37] The eldest son and

France and Holland, the fort was seized by the Dutch, demolished and abandoned. It was restored by St. Castin, but captured again in 1689 by Andros. Because of its ruinous condition, Andros did not consider it worth holding.

[34] *Book of Indians*, III, 104.

[35] Lettre du Sieur Perrot au Ministre, Aug. 25, 1686.

[36] *Recherches Historiques*, IX, 223.

[37] 1696 "Bernard St. Castin étant venue de pantagouet age de 8 ans entra le 22 octobre; il a fait naufrage étant en philosophie allant en France le 24, 9bre 1704 et il perit; il avait fait avant de s'embarquer une confession générale." Annales du Petit Séminaire de Quebec.

heir was Anselm who took his father's place at Pentagoët when the latter returned to France in 1701. Another son, Joseph d'Abbadie, plays a prominent part in the French and English struggle in the eighteenth century.[38]

Despite the activity displayed by Dongan in his attempt to secure wider fields for English operations he did not escape censure from his own countrymen. Edward Randolph wrote an account of the relations between the French and English in America in which he complains that Colonel Dongan allowed himself to be "wheedled by a French priest from Canada."[39] Dongan was succeeded by Andros who made an attempt to enforce the English claim west of the St. Croix. Accepting this river as a boundary would locate Pentagöet and the St. Castin tenure on English soil. In 1688 Andros undertook an expedition to the Penobscot where he took advantage of the absence of the Baron to seize all of his movable property.[40]

St. Castin was instrumental in bringing the missionaries to the Penobscot. The letters of Père Louis Petit to Bishop St.-Vallier describe the visits of the Baron and his family to Port-Royal. He writes: "He is a good man and deserves to be assisted."[41] The assistance which he had asked was a missionary to attend to the spiritual needs of his Indian friends.

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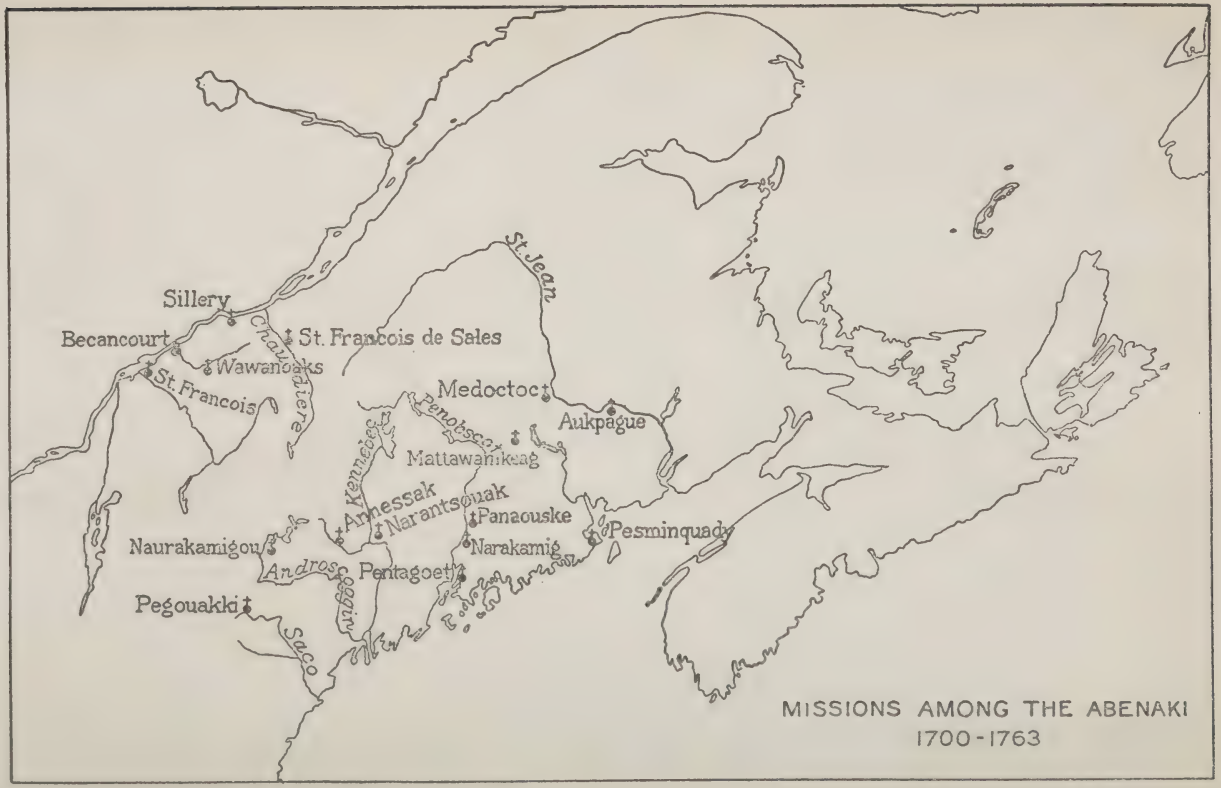
[38] A younger son is described thus in the Annals of the Petit Séminaire: "Jean Pierre St. Castin etant arrivé de l'Acadie le 30 juillet (1701) age de 9 ans ne sachant que parler sauvage est entre le même jour. Il en est mort de la picotte le 19 decembre 1702. Il etait d'un bon naturel et propre aux etudes."

[39] Edward Randolph to Sir James Hayes, Boston, Jan. 6, 1688-9. Royal Society Memorial Book, 702 f. 8b-9b.

[40] Lettre de Denonville au Ministre, Oct. 30, 1688, *Coll. de Mss.*, I, 442.

[41] Letter of Père Petit to Bishop Saint-Vallier, 1686.


Sillery
Becancourt
St. Francois de Sales
Wawanoaks
St. Francois
Chaudiere
St. Jean
Medoctoc
Penobscot
Aukpague
Kennebec
Mattawamkeag
Annessak
Narantsouak
Panaouske
Pesminquady
Naurakamigou
Narakamig
Androscoggin
Pentagoet
Pegouakki
Saco
MISSIONS AMONG THE ABENAKI
1700-1763

CHAPTER IV.

Abenakian Missions and the Intercolonial Wars (1689-1763).

I. Missions on the St. Lawrence.

There were three distinct types of missions among the Indians of New France: the Christian Indian village all of whose inhabitants belonged to the Church; the missions located among sedentary tribes some of whose members had embraced the Catholic religion; and the missions among the purely nomadic tribes. The first mentioned resembled somewhat the reductions to be found in the Spanish colonies; none but Christian Indians were encouraged to enter or remain within the enclosure and in cases where the newly converted fell from their first fervor and scandalized the community, they were expelled from the village by the chiefs of the tribe. These missions were located close to the French settlements on or near the St. Lawrence River. Naming them in order of their establishment, they were: St. Joseph, Sillery; St. François de Sales on the Chaudière; St. François on the river of the same name; and Becancourt. These were all Abenaki villages to which the Abenaki of Maine and other parts of Acadia fled in time of stress; from these missions the unconverted often drew their inspiration; from them went forth the priests to evangelize the distant tribes. Hence some consideration must be given to these before taking up the story of the Maine missions proper.

The greatest obstacles to the success of these Christian settlements arose from their proximity to the French. All the letters of the missionaries to the superiors or to the French officials tell the same discouraging story. The liquor of the French trader crazed the unaccustomed native; young Frenchmen of the higher class furnished object lessons in crime and vice which too often resulted in flattering imitation. Mère Duplessis quotes one of the natives: "Tu [speaking to the missionary] dis que c'est mal fait de s'enivrer, et que nous ne devons avoir qu'une femme: et voilà des Francais qui sont chrétiens et qui font tout ce que nous défends." [1]

[1] Cited by Rochemonteix, III, 390.

The Jesuits were always in favor of the reduction system; they insisted that permanent results could be obtained only when the tribe was sedentary, self-supporting, and isolated from the Europeans. They hoped to accomplish their ends by the two types of missions mentioned above—the villages close to the white settlements but separated by legislative measures; the villages in the depths of the Maine forests remote by reason of distance and difficulty of approach. Occasionally their ideal met with the approval of the French government as in the message from His Majesty:

> L'affection de Sa Majesté pour l'advancement de la Religion et le service de Dieu l'oblige de recommander toujours fortement ausdits Srs. de Frontenac et de Champigny de *concourir autant qu'ils pourront au zèle de l'Evêque de Quebec surtout pour augmenter les missions des Sauvages Chrétiens et les faires participer.*[2]

But usually their isolation policy encountered bitter opposition. As early as 1668 royal instructions reached M. Bouteroue that he was to endeavor to change the policy of the Jesuits in this respect. He was to employ his authority to draw the native into the Canadian population by encouraging intermarriage and seeing that the children of whites and savages received a common education.[3]

The other religious groups were more favorably disposed towards the methods of the government than towards those of the Jesuits. Père Souart, Superior of the Seminary at Montreal, wrote to the authorities in 1667 offering to open a school to instruct the Indians "to train them up in the French manner of living, provided he be not thwarted and disturbed in these works of charity by those who claim to have the sole management of the Indians."[4]

The reasons for the opposition on the part of the French Government to the Christian Indian villages are well summed up in

[2] MM. Champagny et de Frontenac, April 7, 1691. B. 16 (transcript), Ottawa Archives.

[3] Registers of the Royal Orders etc., April 3, 1668. Series B. Vol. I (transcript), Ottawa Archives.

[4] Père Souart to M.M. de Tracy and de Courcelles (probably Oct. 7, 1667). Coll. Moreau St. Méry, I. F. 1556-1669 (transcript), Ottawa Archives. (Italics inserted.)

a Memorial of the Intendant Bigot in the year 1748. In the first place scattered along the frontier they afford a valuable barrier between the English and the French; they not only prevent the English from settling on land that is in dispute but by their frequent forays they displace New England colonists from coast regions which they actually possess. Without the assistance of the natives the few French inhabitants would be helpless. In the second place, they have the reputation among the other tribes of holding so tenaciously to their lands that not even the Iroquois will attack them readily. Thus they shield the French from hostile Indians. Thirdly, not only are they brave warriors but they are likewise the best of native hunters. The great number of pelts brought in by them assures considerable profit from the fur trade. And lastly the Indians themselves are better off away from the French settlements. If they are brought into Canada they are exposed to the temptations of civilization; can obtain all the brandy which they desire; and they can see there what they do not see in their native wilds "the streets paved with drunken Indians." [5]

Sillery.

The mission of St. Joseph at Sillery, a mile and a half from Quebec had been a flourishing Algonkin settlement.[6] Propinquity to the French villages on the St. Lawrence resulted in the adoption of the vices of the whites and also in exposure to their diseases; the geographic position left them at the mercy of the Iroquois. Thus the ravages of liquor, smallpox, and war so decreased the population that only a wretched remnant occupied the mission. The Abenaki of Acadia (the Maine region), fleeing from the English and the Iroquois, sought refuge in the mission at Sillery. The number of refugees increased so rapidly that Père Jacques

[5] Memoir of M. Bigot, Aug. 1, 1748. Aff. Etr. Memoir et Doc., IX, 1749-1762 (transcript), Ottawa Archives.

[6] The mission and Church appear in all the accounts of this colony under the title St. Joseph; likewise the baptismal record reads (according to Rochemonteix) *Liber baptisatorum patribus Societatis Jesu in residentia seu reductione sancti Josephi Vulgo Sillery.* But in the *Jesuit Relations* it is called the mission of St. Michel or Missel and is said to be under the patronage of that saint. (Vol. L, 133.)

Bigot, writing in 1682, says that "during the last month alone nearly one hundred persons have come hither."[7] He immediately set to work to learn their language that he might instruct them. Some of their own accord, some at the instigation of the missionary returned to their former dwelling-places in Maine or Acadia, in order to induce their relatives and friends to abandon their ways of evil living and to return with them to Sillery. Both Church and civil authorities in New France watched with interest the growth of the new mission; bishop and governor gave encouragement; Père Bigot acknowledged especially his indebtedness to the Intendant, Duchenau, who gave valuable aid in preventing excesses among the natives.[8]

When the Abenaki first came to the mission they found there Père Jacques Vaultier. This Jesuit had come to Canada in 1672 and had in the following year been appointed to the Sillery mission. Here he labored until 1681,[9] in which year he was sent to France where he became *procureur* for all the missions of New France. That he did not lose interest in his former charge is evident from the correspondence between him and his successor, Père Jacques Bigot. Apparently there were some in France who were questioning the results attained in the mission field. Father Bigot writes that inasmuch as his correspondent thinks it conducive to the glory of God and the welfare of the mission that he should send an account of the work being done, he is complying with the request. "I do so all the more willingly since it would be advisable to convince certain persons who are not very far from you that we are not without occupations here."[10]

Father Jacques Bigot had come to Canada in 1679. From the time that he entered the Sillery mission in 1681 his entire life was spent with the Abenaki Indians; he lived at Sillery, at St. François de Sales, at Beçancourt, and on the Penobscot, but he visited wherever Indians of this tribe were to be found. At the

[7] *Jes. Rel.*, P. Jacques Bigot's Report for 1682, LXII.

[8] Jacques Bigot, Letter June 24, 1681, *Jes. Rel.*, LXII.

[9] A letter dated Sillery, Jan. 1, 1697. Collection D, Vol. II.

[10] It seems reasonable to conclude that the letter was written to Père Vaultier since the writer says: "Since your departure seven months ago the mission has been increased by 60 savages etc." *Jes. Rel.*, LXII.

first named settlement he was assisted by his brother Vincent who remained there from 1681 to 1704. In the latter year Père Vincent was sent to labor among the Iroquois. The extra burden thus thrust upon Père Jacques was less grievous than would have been the case had the mission been less well organized and administered. The docility of the inhabitants made it possible for one of their own number to act as assistant and to take over many of the tasks formerly performed by Père Vincent.[11]

For a short period Père Henri Gassot assisted at Sillery. He had been a classmate of the Bigots in France and had come to the New World in 1683. Beyond the fact that he spent some time at this mission nothing is known of him. The only other Jesuit mentioned in connection with Sillery is Père Jean Vignier who arrived in Canada in 1687. He was sent to this mission in 1689 and there remained for ten years.

St. François de Sales.

As the lands about the mission became exhausted, the Indians gradually abandoned the place for more productive fields. The site became the property of the Jesuits and in the document by which the ground was conceded the reason for the departure is given. The natives had been gradually leaving the mission for the last ten years (1689-1699) in order to settle upon more productive land. The woods had been cut for more than forty years and it was necessary for them to go great distances from their dwellings in order to secure firewood.[12] The new settlement was made on the Chaudière River and given the name of St. François-de-Sales. According to Père J. Bigot the grant of land fifteen leagues from their former dwelling-place was made by M. de le Barre, the King's Lieutenant-General, and M. de Meule, the Intendant. Because of its proximity to the Acadian tribes he hoped that many would be

[11] Report for 1682, Aug. 28, Sillery Mission, *Jes. Rel.*, LXII.

[12] ". . . desdits sauvages ont été obligés d'abbonddonner depuis dix ou douze ans pour s'établir silleurs tant parceque les terres et cultures y étaient tout-a-fait usées que parceque les bois de chauffage coupés depuis près de quarante ans, se trouvaient beaucoup trop eloignés de leurs demeures . . .". Act of Concession, Oct. 23, 1699. C11, II (transcript), Ottawa Archives.

induced to join the new mission. The civil authorities of New France encouraged the transition, for the new position afforded a more effective barrier against the Iroquois.[13]

St. François on the St. François River.

By the year 1700 it was thought advisable to move the mission again. The next location on the St. François was selected for two reasons: because a beginning had already been made in this locality, and because this situation even better than the former afforded the possibility of a strong buffer state. While the Indians from the east had been settling Sillery and St. François-de-Sales (1680-1700) some Abenaki set up a new village on the St. François River. Here they were visited occasionally until 1687, by Père J. Bigot. During the two years which followed, they were under the care of M. Benoît Duplein. He was succeeded in turn by P. St. Dominique, Augustin Dechausse, M. de Saint Claude, and the Recollect, Laurent Gendre. To this new mission in 1700 came Père Jacques Bigot with one thousand Abenaki. After 1701 the *Relations* make no further mention of the St. François-de-Sales mission.[14] The only missionary other than Père Bigot mentioned in the Catalogues as having ministered to the Indians on the Chaudière is Père Auguste Le Blanc.[15] He came some time in 1697 and remained until the migration in 1700.

When Père Vincent Bigot was called to take charge of the missions of all New France, Père Joseph Aubéry (Aubry) replaced him at St. François. Père Aubéry was born at Gisors May 10, 1673; he entered the Jesuit novitiate at Paris at the age of seventeen. He was so extremely timid and retiring that the Superiors wondered how they could employ him in the works of the Society. He proved an exemplary religious and a laborious student, so that when he made his request for the missions of America, his plea

[13] Report by Père J. Bigot, Christmas 1683-Oct. 6, 1684. Orig. mss., Arch. St. Mary Col., Montreal.

[14] Three letters, two written by Père Bigot and one by Père Aubery were dated from this mission subsequent to this year but this may have resulted from the confusion which frequently occurred since both missions bore similar names.

[15] *Jes. Rel.*, LXXI, 133, 159.

was granted. He arrived at Quebec in 1694 and there finished his studies. Following his ordination in 1700, he said his first Mass in the simple little chapel of the mission of St. François, the mission in which he was to spend forty-six years of labor and devotion.[16] After his entrance into the mission field a surprising transformation took place; timidity gave place to a resoluteness that was almost daring. In writing to his Superior he says with charming simplicity that in the assemblage of the natives he spoke with a force and ardor which surprised himself. Père Bouvart, then superior of the Canadian missions sent him to work with Fathers Rale and La Chasse both of whom were at this time with the Abenaki in the Acadian missions. During this period while in direct contact with the problems territorial and political which were disturbing Old World Councils and destroying New World settlements he acquired the knowledge which he incorporated in the charts and memoirs which he sent to the French court. During his long apostolate at St. François he faced the usual difficulties of the Canadian missionary. He was forced at one time to issue a decree of exile against those who persisted in following the example of the worst element among the French, and who were giving open scandal. With the assistance of the "anciens" and "captaines" who made themselves responsible for the public morals, he succeeded in establishing for a time at least a model Christian community. He found time moreover to compile an Abenaki vocabulary and to compose hymns in that dialect; he left also a number of notes which have been valuable in writing the history of the tribe. Unfortunately many of his manuscripts were lost in the destruction of the St. François mission church in 1759. This was the work of Major Robert Rogers and his troops on October 4 of that year. While many of the warriors of the village were absent with the French army, this officer made an attack during which two hundred were killed; twenty women together with a number of children were taken captive. After the massacre the soldiers set fire to the church and to the houses. Then was lost the church

[16] Rochemonteix says (III, 402) in the mission of St. François and gives Maurault as his authority, but this is a misreading of the passage for the latter says distinctly in the mission of St. François-de-Sales (498).

register, the rich collection of manuscripts and the Chartres reliquary. The statue of the Blessed Virgin also given to them by the Chartres canons was carried off to New England.

While in charge of this mission Père Aubéry had renewed the affiliation of the St. François Indians with the Chapter at Chartres which had been made a half century earlier. In the Archives of Eure-de-Loire, there may be found a number of manuscripts relating to the union between the Huron and Abenaki tribes with the canons of the Cathedral at Chartres.[17] In 1684 the Abenaki of the Sillery mission received from France a statue of the Blessed Virgin which was placed in the Chapel of St. Joseph. When Père Jacques Bigot departed for Europe in 1691 he carried with him a prayer in Abenaki in honor of the Blessed Mother together with a wampum necklace both of which he was to present to the Cathedral at Chartres. This prayer known as the *Voeu des Abenaki* is to be found only in the original. If it be true that at one time it was rendered into Latin the translation has disappeared. The collar which accompanied it bore the inscription: "Matri Virgini Abnaquioei, D. D. offert par les Abemakis à la Vierge Mère." Letters passed back and forth between the missionaries and the *chanoines* and in 1693, a gift was sent to the Christian natives of this mission in recognition of their devotion to the Mother of God. This was a silver reliquary in the form of the *Sacred Chemise*.[18] It was

[17] This collection includes:

(1) Voeu des Abenaquis de la mission de Saint François de Sales, en la Nouvelle France.
(2) Lettre du P. J. Bigot, a Paris 27, janvier, 1692.
(3) Lettre du P. V. Bigot, St. François-de-Sales, 7 octobre, 1692.
(4) Lettre du P. J. Bigot, St. François-de-Sales, 27 octobre, 1694.
(5) Lettre du P. V. Bigot, mission Abnaquis proche Quebec, 25 septembre 1698.
(6) Lettre du P. V. Bigot, St. François-de-Sales, 11 octobre, 1701.
(7) Lettre du P. Joseph Aubéry, 1749.

Most of these letters are printed in Doublet de Boisthibault, *Les Voeux des Hurons et des Abnaquis* (Chartres 1857), No. 7 is in *Jes. Rel.*, LXIX, 68-73.

[18] These fashioned of gold or silver with the image of the Blessed Virgin on one side and the Crucifix on the other were kept at Notre Dame de Chartres and given upon occasions to special clients of Mary.

placed in the church of St. François-de-Sales on the Chaudière and translated to the new mission of St. François in 1700. The union of prayer between the Indians and Chartres was renewed in 1699 with the wampum belt which accompanied the letter of Père Vincent Bigot. The missionary describes in this letter the making of novenas and the prayers that nothing might disturb the holy league between the Abenaki and the Chapter of Chartres. The renewal of the compact in 1749 was signed by Père Aubéry and a number of the principal chiefs of the mission.

In 1760 M. Jean-Baptiste Dugast who had been curé of the parish of St. François for forty-six years (1715-1761) took over the care of the Indian mission also. When he died the following year he was succeeded by P. Roubaud who remained but a few months. Père Joseph Roubaud came to Canada in 1756 and was sent to the Abenaki missions. There is a letter written from St. François, Oct. 21, 1757, of which it is thought he is the author. In it he speaks of twenty Abenaki appointed to accompany Père Virot. After the capture of Canada, Roubaud openly supported the English interests. He seems to have won the favor of Lord Murray and is frequently mentioned in the Murray correspondence (1759-1791). Murray wrote a letter of introduction to Halifax in which he says that Roubaud wished to publicly renounce "the Roman Catholic Religion" in Quebec, but that he has persuaded him to go instead to England to inform the ministry concerning American affairs. In England he married and acted as an agent for the British government. Summervogel denies that he became apostate; he says that he repented and died at St. Sulpice in Paris, 1781. The Recollect P. Félix de Bérey replaced him; he was followed by M. Parent who remained four and a half years. Père Germaine was the last Jesuit to serve this mission. He lived here from 1768 to 1779.[19]

[19] Père J. A. Maurault who has left the most complete account of this tribe in his *Histoire des Abenakis*, was sent as missionary to St. François in 1847.

Becancourt.

The first record concerning Becancourt is found in the *Concession de terres* made by the seigneur Godefroy de Linctôt, by Lecompte Dupré, Michel Hardoin, February 22, 1672. As early as 1680 some Abenaki families of Damisokantic (Lake Megantic) established themselves on the river Becancourt (then called Puante). At about the same time M. Becancourt, the Baron de Pontneuf, settled close by on an island, known today as Montesson. According to a date found in the church register, the parish was established in 1699, but as it is annotated as depending upon the "memory of the ancients," for its validity some doubt may be expressed. The archives were burned when the Church was destroyed in August 1757.[20] Maurault gives as the reason for the founding of this reduction, Governor Vaudreuil's desire to strengthen the defenses against the Iroquois; for which purpose he treated with M. Becancourt for a grant of land.[21] But the act by which this concession was made is dated April 30, 1708; the mission must have been pretty well under way by this time for at least five hundred Indians had come with Père Jacques from St. François de Sales at the same time that the mission on the River St. François was being founded (1700).[22] The mission at Becancourt was placed under the protection of St. François Xavier but because of the proximity of the other St. François it is usually designated by the name of the locality. From 1700 to 1716 the Indians here were cared for by non-resident missionaries; the first to visit them was Père Sebastian Rale. Like the mission of St. François that of Becancourt was the scene of a long and fervent apostolate. But as in the other missions the vice of intemperance was firmly rooted. To eradicate this evil and to plant the seeds of Christian virtue was the aim of Père François Eustache le Sueur. Père Charlevoix had predicted that the French would pay the penalty of their unprincipled conduct in dealing with the natives.[23] That the

[20] *Bulletin des Recherches Historiques*, VIII, 42 f.

[21] Maurault, *op. cit.*, 285.

[22] *Jes. Rel.*, LXVI, 345.

[23] "Il est bien à craindre que le Seigneur permette qu'ils ne deviennent nos enemis, pour nous punir d'avoir contribué par un sordide intérêt à les rendre vicieux." Charlevoix, III, 111, 112.

prophecy was not fulfilled was due to the efforts of Père Le Sueur. To so low a state had this mission fallen by 1716 that Père Aubéry proposed that the inhabitants be removed to the neighboring mission on the St. François. With the coming of Père Le Sueur it took on a new lease of life, and when he left it in 1753 it had the reputation of being one of the most fervent missions in North America. This priest has left a dictionary of Abenaki as well as a manuscript on the natives and their customs; one chapter of especial interest to the ethnologist describes the calumet dance.[24] The priest to follow in this mission was Père Simon Gounon who was sent to Becancourt in 1753, one year after his arrival in New France. He lived here for twelve years. On May 3, 1764, he was drowned while crossing the St. Lawrence.[25]

On a map dated August 16, 1749, prepared for the English Governor, William Shirley, Becancourt is mentioned but no Indian settlement or mission is indicated at this place. Farther down the same river (Puante) the "Wananoaks"[26] Indians are named and labeled "in the French interest."[27] There is also reference to

[24] It is not possible to set exact dates for Père Le Sueur because of the conflicting evidence of the sources. Maurault says that Le Sueur came to America in June 1715, spent nine months at Sillery learning the Abenakis language and then in September 1716 was sent to Becancourt where he lived until 1753. This long apostolate was broken by a few years of service in Montreal. According to the Jesuit Catalogues he was sent to the Illinois in 1716 "in itinere ad Illineos." A note in the *Jesuit Relations*, LXIX, 288 f. probably by Rev. A. E. Jones, S. J., tells that he arrived in Quebec in 1716 and in 1718 began his missionary labors at St. François de Sales. He remained there until 1727 perhaps longer. He was in Montreal in 1730 and in Quebec 1755-1759. While stationed in Montreal and Quebec he made long and frequent visits to the Abenakis.

[25] The mission was taken by the Recollects: P. Louis Demers (1764-1767); P. Dominique Petrimoulx (1767-1769); P. Nicolas Couturier (1769-1774); P. Theodore (1774-1779).

[26] Wawenock, a tribe of the Abenaki confederacy, lived on the coast of Maine about the mouth of the Kennebec River. They were related to the Arosaguntacook, with whom they had united. The French apparently transferred the name of the tribe to the locality, when the settlement was made on the St. Lawrence.

[27] "This Draught of the northern English Colonies together with the French neighboring settlements taken partly from the actual surveys and

these in the journal of Alexander Hamilton, who was held by the French, in which he speaks of "the town of Wewenack 30 leagues from Quebec up the river." Another English captive likewise writes of the Indians at "Worenock." [28] There is no mention in the Jesuit annals of a mission at this place, but in conference with M. Beauharnais, the Abenakis of Amesoquanty accept his invitation to settle down at Ouanouinac (Wawenoak?) on the River Puante. They must have had a chapel in their former location whether they had a resident missionary or not. They state that they are leaving with regret their farms which are very fine, their chapel, and their friends. In their speech they say "As we are leaving our beautiful Chapel we expect that you will make us one." [29]

Of the Indian villages on the St. Lawrence, Becancourt and St. François alone remain. In the former are about fifty natives, half-breeds for the most part. To the latter fled all the Indians who lost their lands through the encroachments of the Iroquois and the English. Norridgewock, Pennacook, Scaticook, Wawenock and Arosegunticook—all have found homes here, and are known to-day as St. Francis Indians.

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partly from the most improved Draughts and other accounts done at your Excellency's request, is most humbly dedicated by

Your Excellency's most obliged and obedient humble Serv't

Charles Morris."

[28] Letter from Zach Trescott to Judge Dudley Oct. 1, 1722. Baxter Mss. Me. Hist. Soc. *Coll.* Second Series (Doc. Hist.), X, 157.

[29] Collection Moreau St. Méry 1704 F3 Vol. II, Pt. 2 (transcript), Ottawa Archives.

CHAPTER V.

Abenakian Missions and the Intercolonial Wars (1689-1763).

II. Missions in Western Maine.

French and English Rivalry.

An analysis of the mass of colonial correspondence of the period from 1650-1763 discloses on the part of the French reiterated complaints concerning English aggressions on the lands of the Indian allies of the French; evil influences of the English traders upon the natives; and attempts made to discredit the Catholic Faith in the eyes of the savages. The English documents emphasize: the horrible massacres which it was claimed were instigated by French officials and Catholic missionaries; failure of the Abenaki, because of French encouragement, to keep treaty obligations; and unscrupulous scheming and conscienceless double-dealing of the officials of New France. All these, however, were but symptoms of underlying causes which were involving the Abenaki in the struggle between the rival colonies. These were: the unsettled boundary question which threw these tribes onto debatable territory; the varying theories of land ownership held by the French, the English, and the native; the question as to whether these Indians were subject to French or English jurisdiction with the corollary:—did treaty obligations imposed upon them by the British government have a binding force; and implacable religious intolerance on either side.

Clause X of the Treaty of Breda, July, 1667, simply states: "The King of Great Britain shall restore to his most Christian Majesty the country of Acadia in North America." No attempt is made to define the limits. When war was again declared between France and England in 1689, Sir William Phipps of Massachusetts seized Port-Royal; it remained an English possession only a short time, for it was re-captured by Villebon the following year. The English under Captain Church returned to the attack and landed at Beau

Basin (Fort Cumberland) and an unrelenting war aimed principally at the Indians was waged. All the improvements which the Acadians had made were destroyed. But the Treaty of Ryswick, 1697, which left Acadia in the hands of France, made some effort to determine a boundary between the possessions of the countries. Article VIII stipulated that the commissioners appointed by both sides should "immediately after the ratification of the treaty be invested with sufficent authority for settling the limits and confines of the lands to be restored on either side . . ." [1] The war which broke out between the European nations in 1705 brought a renewal of hostilities in the colonies. An attack was made by the English upon Fort Naxouat (Nashwack) which was successfully repulsed by Villebon. Indians took a prominent part in the fighting on both sides. Two years later another force was sent against Port-Royal and again the outcome was favorable to the French. In 1710 a large force from Massachusetts under General Nicholson accomplished the purpose of the English: Port-Royal was taken.

The boundary on the Canadian side had been equally undetermined; though the Kennebec was generally conceded to be the dividing line, the Sagadahoc territory was always disputed ground. The French claimed it by the treaties of St. Germain and Breda, but the Treaty of Ryswick left its ownership once more an open question. England followed her usual proceeding of strengthening her territorial claim by actual possession. Thus after the Treaty of Utrecht pending the settlement by a commission, English colonists established homes within the debated area.[2] To the protests made by the natives the answer was that this land belonged to the English either by purchase from the Indian owners or by right of conquest. When the French attempted to make a settlement on this same territory, the ownership of which was in question, the English governor of Massachusetts Bay took immediate steps to prevent any encroachment.

[1] Chalmers, *Collection of Treaties.* (London, 1790), I, 332-340.

[2] Some of these settlements were: 1714 Brunswick, Topsham, and Georgetown; 1716 Yorkshire was extended from the Kennebec to the St. Croix; in the same year the fort at Pemaquid was restored; 1719 Fort Richmond was built on the west bank of the Kennebec and from this time until 1763 the English settlements grew in size and number.

> Since I have had the honor of writing to your Lordship I have received intelligence that in the Summer before last the French made a settlement upon a tract of land which lies wholly to the westward of the river Kennebec and separates a branch of it from the Chaudière . . . It seems certain my Lord that if these settlements are permitted to remain there may be danger of their soon becoming Masters of the whole Kennebec. . . .[3]

The missionaries who spent years among the Indians were in a better position than any officials or councillors to forecast the outcome of the grasping spirit of England and the vacillating policy of France. They were keen in discerning the motive underlying English aggressions on the Indian lands. Père Aubéry warns the French in a memorial which he presented to Vaudreuil in 1713 shortly after the Treaty of Utrecht; he indicates clearly the weaknesses of that document; with the memorial he sends a chart upon which he has mapped the situation; at the same time he predicts that the outcome will be disastrous to the French interests. When no attention was paid to this warning, he followed it up with a second memorial in the early part of the year 1720. In this he points out that what he had foretold had come to pass; since the boundaries had not been fixed, the English were sending settlers to hold the disputed territory. Père Loyard too was under no delusions as to England's ultimate purpose. It was not merely a question of boundary difficulties nor shadowy claims to disputed territory; it was the determination on the part of Britain to hold America. Père Loyard emphasizes this in his memorial. He calls attention to the fact that the English had been in no haste to make settlements in the Peninsula of Acadia which was ceded to them by the Treaty of Utrecht and which no one thought of disputing with them; that no one was taking any land there or cultivating the soil; but on the other hand the English continued to settle upon the rivers which the Indians claimed as their own, thus themselves causing much of the trouble for which they were holding the French responsible. "Why is this, if not for the purpose of continually

[3] Gov. Shirley to Rt. Hon. Earl of Holderness, P. R. O., C. O., 5/205 (transcript). Lib. Cong.

advancing towards Canada, to which these lands are much nearer than to Acadia; and to deprive the Savages of the aid that they derive by their nearness to the sea, and to take possession of them . . ."[4]

Evidence is not lacking in the English documents as well that nothing short of the expulsion of the French from the western continent would satisfy the British. The following has reference to Nova Scotia; it was written in 1754 when the nations were supposed to be at peace; war broke out between the two countries the next year.

> I think it my duty further to observe that if Nova Scotia should be lost by any sudden blow, the Eastern parts of the Province of Massachusetts Bay and the whole province of New Hampshire within which tracts of territory are included the woods from which the Royal Navy is supplied with Masts, Yards and Bow-sprits together with the rivers of St. Johns, Pentagoet, and Kennebec . . . I should have mentioned among the advantages of driving the French out of Nova Scotia now that it would give New England and particularly the province of Massachusetts Bay a most grateful sense of his Majesty's paternal care of his colonies. . . .[5]

In a report to the Duke of Newcastle concerning the Boundaries the proposed limits are set forth and then is added: "*If the French are to remain upon the Continent of North America,* the Boundary above described, it is thought might best answer . . ."[6] Still stronger evidence is to be found in this extract from the speech to the Council:

> I shall only remark further that one advance of twenty-five miles higher up the Kennebec would bring us within a hundred and ten miles of Quebec and to a most commodious spot for the erecting of such a fort as would be an effectual curb to that part of Canada and a considerable step toward chasing the

[4] Loyard. "Upon the Present Condition of the Abenaquis" (1792), *Jes. Rel.*, LXVII, 123.

[5] Gov. Wm. Shirley to Rt. Hon. Sir Thomas Robinson, Sec'y of State, Nov. 11, 1754. P. R. O., C. O., 5/14, 571 (transcript), Lib. Cong.

[6] Brit. Mus. Add. Mss. 35910. Hardwicke DLXII (transcript), Lib. Cong. (Italics inserted.)

> French out of that country whenever an attempt to do it should be thought proper.[7]

The natives apparently had no concept of the right of sale, that is, the transfer of property for a price. When the Indian made vast grants of lands he had no notion of alienating territory from the tribe; he was simply extending to others the privileges which he himself enjoyed. Hence the same lands were conveyed to different individuals; oftentimes part of the grant made by the English king to an individual or to a group was made the object of transfer on the part of some Indian chief. The French understood the position of the Indian; they did not offer payment for the lands which they appropriated. Both parties took for granted that the land belonging to a tribe which acknowledged French dominion automatically became part of the French domain.

The English adopted a middle course; they maintained a paramount claim in the Crown while at the same time they admitted the rights of the tribe and obtained when they could a release from the natives. Some of the most famous of the transfers were: "Brown Deed at Pemaquid," by Samoset and Unongoit Sagamores, July 15-25, 1625; "Deed of Lands on the Androscroggin" by Worumbo and other Sagamores, July 7-17, 1684; and "Covenant of Lands with Sir William Phips," by Macdockwando, Sagamore of the Penobscot, May 9, 1694. The following is a typical transfer:

> Know all men by these presents that I Monquine (Alias) Natahanada the son of Old Natawornett Sagamore of Kenebeck river hath sold and set over until William Bradford etc. . . . *all the land on both sides of the Kenebec from Cusenocke upward to Wesserrunskiek* To have and to hold to them and their Heirs forever with all the woods, waters, Soils, Profits, Libertys, and Priviledges any way belonging thereunto or arising from the same for and in consideration of two Hogsheads of Provisions one of Bread and one of Peas Two Coats of Cloth two Gallons of wine and a Bottle of strong waters to

[7] Wm. Shirley to the Council and Representatives. Oct. 18, 1754. P. R. O., C. O., 5/14, 571 (transcript), Lib. Cong.

him in hand paid; In Witness wherof I have put my hand this 8th Day of August An 1648.

Monquine (Alias) Nutahanada
his X mark [8]

When there was no title from the crown, the Indian sale was supposed to give a perfect title. For example in one of the cases cited above, the Penobscot Indians denied the right of their chief Madockwando to alienate the land belonging to the tribe; the English considered the purchase by President Leverett of Harvard College a guarantee of the legality of the title. Moreover the English land grant situation was always complicated by the conflicting titles within the colonies themselves. Thus in 1633 Massachusetts forbade the purchase of lands from the Indians within the limits of the colony unless explicit permission had been obtained, but when there was a question of extending the limits of the colony in 1643 so as to embrace part of the Province of Maine, the inhabitants were encouraged to make purchases from the Indians.[9] The Plymouth colony which held the grant on the Kennebec, fearing lest the Indian titles should become paramount to claims by government grant, prohibited purchases from the Indians within the colony or within the Kennebec grant. Just how soon association with the whites forced upon the Indian the fact that he was not being justly treated in the matter of the seizure of lands is hard to say.

The Treaty of Utrecht (Clause XV) provided that "The subjects of France inhabiting Canada; and others, shall hereafter give no hindrance or molestation to the five nations or cantons of Indians, subject to the dominion of Great Britain nor to the other natives of America, who are friends of the same. In like manner the subjects of Great Britain shall behave themselves peaceably towards the Americans who are subjects or friends to France; and on both sides they shall enjoy full liberty of going and coming on account of trade." This clause states clearly the status of the Five Nations as British allies but it furnishes possibilities for bickerings and disputes over the fealty of all the other tribes. The English

[8] Brit. Mus. Additional Mss. 15488 (transcript) Lib. Cong.
[9] *Laws of Colonial and State Governments* (1832), 101-103.

looked for the allegiance of the Abenaki tribes because they were living on land which the English colonies claimed and because of a number of treaties by which these Indians had been brought to pledge friendship and support. A letter of Governor Shute indicates their attitude:

> I do not judge it necessary to enter far into argument on this head But I could easily convince you how very much you are in the wrong to Concern yourself with an Indian tribe that are settled upon one of the principal rivers of New England that live in the naighborhood of our English towns and garrisons and until very lately have constantly conversed and traded with them . . . but above all that which I very much insist on This tribe of the Indians as well as that of the Penobscot have for a great number of years past by frequent and solemn treaties willingly and joyfully put themselves under the Protection of the Crown of Great Britain. . . .[10]

The treaties of which he spoke extended back into the latter part of the seventeenth century; one was signed Aug. 11, 1693, by the Sagamores of the Penobscot, Kennebec, Amarascogin, and Saco on one side with Sir William Phipps representing the English. On June 3, 1701, at Casco Bay, a memorial was drawn up of the propositions arranged between the Eastern Indians and a Commission appointed by the Governor of Massachusetts Bay. Other Treaties followed: that of Portsmouth, 1713 (the Submission and Agreement of the Eastern Indians); that of Georgetown, on Arrowsick Island August 1717; one with the Penobscots and St. Jeans in 1725; with the Norridgewocks in 1727 and one at Falmouth, 1754. The Indians never took these agreements very seriously; immediately after the signing of one such the French President of the Navy writes to M. Ovide "The Peace between the Abnakis and the English is only too real but the Indians say that they only concluded it through fear of being overpowered and that they always preserve the same attachment toward the French . . . I am still persuaded from the discourse which you held with the Chiefs that this peace will not have a serious consequence."[11] The ex-

[10] Letter of Governor Shute to the Marquis de Vaudreuil, Boston, March 14, 1721. P. R. O., C. O., 5/10 (transcript), Lib. Cong.

[11] Orders of the King, Series B 52 Canada (transcript), Ottawa Archives.

ample set them by the English was not calculated to instil respect for treaty obligations—truckhouse promised, but not erected, irresponsible traders under protection of the government, detention of hostages—all these the natives noted and patterned their conduct thereby. Moreover it is very doubtful that the Indians understood what they were promising. Parkman commenting on the Treaty of Portsmouth says: "Indians when in trouble can waive their pride and lavish professions and promises; but when they called themselves subjects of Queen Anne, it is safe to say that they did not know what the words meant." [12] Some years later the Superintendent of the Indians of the Northern District expressed the same idea "The Indians I do assure your Lordship are in no wise inferior to us in sagacity and stratagem—I know that many mistakes arose here from erroneous accounts formerly made of Indians; they have been represented as calling themselves subjects, although the very word would have startled them had it ever been pronounced by our interpreter." [13]

The French missionaries have come in for a large share of adverse criticism on the charge of political meddling. Parkman has voiced the sentiments of a goodly number when he says that before the end of the seventeenth century the functions of the Canadian Jesuit had become as much political as religious; "but if the fires of his apostolic zeal burned less high, his devotion to the Order in which he had merged his personality was as intense as before." [14] Parkman neglects to mention just what the individual Jesuit or his Order gained politically by persevering attachment to the Indian tribes. Any amount of evidence may be produced to show that the French government used the missionaries to keep the Indians in the interest of France; but there is nothing to indicate that men like Rale, Aubéry, Loyard and their companions, would spend years of their life in the untempting environment of an Indian bourgade in order to increase the territorial or political aspirations of their native country. Père Rale discusses the troubles between his

[12] *A Half-Century of Conflict*, I, 212, 213.

[13] Letter from Sir William Johnson, September 25, 1763, B. M. Add. Mss., 35, 910. Hardwicke Papers, DLXII (transcript), Lib. Cong.

[14] *A Half Century of Conflict*, I, 207.

Indians and the English and ends with "These beginnings of misunderstandings alarm me, and make me fear the dispersion of the flock which Providence has confided to my care for so many years, and for which I would willingly sacrifice all that remains to me of life."[15] Père Aubéry foresees the fate of the missionaries and warns the French crown in no uncertain terms: "It would appear that the French government not content with ceding French soil to the English are ready to make cession likewise of their savage allies; the English once in control of the rivers will proclaim the natives their subjects; nor will it be long before they will find the means of expelling the missionaries. This they have done to those among the Iroquois, and that even before the conclusion of the peace."[16] Père Aubéry's conviction was no idle fear; the determination to rid the continent of Catholicism or to at least prevent its further spread was not the least of the motives which actuated the English in their aggressive policy. In a report sent to England in 1760 the question is debated whether it were well to permit any of the French who were not Protestant or who would not become such "by solemnly abjuring the Popish Religion in the Church agreeable to the manner practised in Ireland" to remain in the colonies.[17] They felt that the spread of the Catholic Faith among the natives was an abomination to be dealt with vigorously. All the documents of the first half of the eighteenth century abound with examples. A few are here quoted:

> . . . it is necessary for the continuance of this quiet that the French Priests and Missionaries be removed from their residence among them, the Indians taking measure from their evil

[15] Letter to his nephew, *Jes. Rel.*, LXVII, 97.

[16] "Ainsy autre la terre que la Cour, cédera de nouveau a l'Anglois, elle paroîtra consentir a leur ceder aussy nos Sauvages, puisque les Anglois maîtres de leurs rivières s'en regarderont aussy comme les maîtres, et ils trouveront bientôt les moyens d'obliger les missionaires de s'en retirer comme ils firent a ceux qui estoient aux Iroquois avant la conclusion de la paix." Memoir du P. Aubéry, Jésuite Missionaire de Canada sur les limites de la Nouvelle France et de la Nouvelle Angleterre. C11, II, 90 (transcript), Ottawa Archives.

[17] Copy of letter to the Duke of Newcastle 15 Jan. 1760. Brit. Mus. Add. Mss. 36910. Hardwicke DLXII (transcript), Lib. Cong.

> counsels and suggestions are bigotted in their zeal to their pernicious and damnable principles.[18]

The same account tells how by means of a Trading house with fortification and garrison at Casco bay they hope to wean the Indians from the French interests; they have done in like manner on the Saco; in order to give them the opportunity of being instructed "in the true Christian religion", they have provided two English missionaries, one to reside at the Fort at Casco, the other on the Saco.[19]

In the Conference which preceded the signing of the treaty of Casco Bay one of the propositions set forth unexpectedly was the twelfth:

> That we are in a special manner directed to invite you unto an Union with us in the true Christian Religion separated from those foolish superstitions and plain Idolatries with which the Roman Catholicks and especially the Jesuits and Missionarys have corrupted it, to which intent we are to offer you the assistance of teachers for your Instruction in like manner as is practised amongst those Indians who live amongst us.

The answer of the Indians in part was:

> The English formerly neglected to instruct us in Religion which if they had then offered to us we should have embraced it and detested the Religion which we now profess, but now being instructed by the French we have promised to be true to God in our Religion and it is this we profess to stand by.[20]

Père Aubéry had feared that what had been done among the Iroquois would likewise be accomplished among the Abenaki. Lord Edward Cornbury in his proposals to the Five Nations warns them "I know that they (the French) will be threatening of you and forcing Priests upon you . . . but I must tell ye not to fear the one nor suffer the others as you intend to preserve the Covenant Chain. He received the satisfactory response:

[18] Wm. Stoughton to the Lord Commissioners for the Council of Trade, Dec. 20, 1700. Baxter Mss., Me. Hist. Soc. *Coll.*, Doc. Hist., second series, X, 85.

[19] Baxter Mss., Me. Hist. Soc. *Coll.*, Doc. Hist., second series, X, 85.

[20] Me. Hist. Soc. *Coll.*, Doc. Hist., second series, X, 94, Baxter Mss.

> We Sachims of ye 5 nations are unanimously come to this Resolution not to suffer any popish Priests to come into our Country; and as the goods are cheaper here, then we will consult about having ministers in our Castles to instruct us in the Christian faith; then we can afford to buy a good honest coat to goe to Church withall which we cannot doe now for it would be scandalous to come to Church with a Bear skinn on our Baks.[21]

An Outpost on the Kennebec.

There were no permanent missions upon the Kennebec after the departure of Père Druillettes. The unceasing onslaughts of the Iroquois and the constant aggressions of the English rendered these Abenaki more nomadic. The church erected under the direction of Père Druillettes was destroyed when the village was attacked during King Philip's War (1675-6). Maurault says that when this tribe of the Kanibessinoaks (Canibas) was almost annihilated the few survivors fled to the Canadian missions; then it was that the Narantsouaks (Norridgewocks) who were living on the upper stretches of the Kennebec established themselves on the site of the former village. He alone seems to distinguish between the Canibas of the seventeenth century and the Norridgewocks of the eighteenth.[22] French and English contemporaries continue to use the name Canibas when speaking of the natives of the Kennebec.[23] According to this same authority the new mission was begun about 1696, but it seems probable that it had its origin at an earlier date. The *Jesuit Catalogue* of 1694 states that the Fathers Vincent Bigot and Sebastian Rale set out at about the same time for the Acadian missions. Some modern writers[24] have placed Père Jacques Bigot on the Kennebec mission prior to the coming of Père Rale, but the occupations of the former can be so readily accounted for that it does not seem as though he could have been a permanent missionary here. The probable truth is that he visited the Indians on the Kennebec from time to time while he was in

[21] Mss. Clar. 102, fol. 46 (transcripts), Lib. Cong.

[22] Marault, *Histoire des Abenakis*, 391.

[23] Vide *supra*, 7.

[24] W. Allen, *History of Norridgewock* (Norridgewock, 1849), 28. J. W. North, *The History of Augusta* (Augusta, 1870), 14.

charge of the St. Lawrence bourgades. The religious and historical importance of Norridgewock begins with the arrival of Père Rale.[25] He gathered between three and four hundred Indians, built a church, and set to work to establish a model Christian community.

Père Sebastian Rale was born in Franche Comté, January 28, 1657. He entered the novitiate at Dôle, Province of Lyons, in 1675. From his earliest day in the Society there was manifested in him that rare combination of qualities which made him remarkable throughout his career. He was a profound thinker and scholar, while at the same time a man of ready action. He taught in the colleges of Chapentras, Nîmes, and Lyons; he was noted for his ability to discourse convincingly on highly speculative questions while at the same time he was doing active work among the poor of those places. He directed a congregation of working men and held classes of instructions for the servants of the wealthy. His request to be sent to the American missions was granted with the result that he accompanied Frontenac's party to New France, July 1689. At Quebec he studied the native dialects but not satisfied with the progress he was making he went to an Abenaki tribe located about three leagues from Quebec (the tribe on the Chaudière?) and continued his studies. He calls this the period of his missionary apprenticeship; here too he began the dictionary of the Abenaki language which was not yet complete when in the raid on Norridgewock in 1722, it was seized by Colonel Thomas Westbrook.[26]

[25] Various forms of the name occur. Among the French writers the most frequent are Râle, Ralé, Ralet, Racles, Rasle, Rasles. Among his English contemporaries he was known as Rallé, Rallée, Ralley, Raylés.

[26] This Mss. is preserved in the Library of Harvard University. It is a quarto volume of 220 pages on the first of which is the following: "1691 Il y a un an que je suis parmi les sauvages, je commence a mettre en ordre en forme de dictionaires les mots qui j'apprens." Below this are added the words: "Taken after the flight at Norridgewock among Father Ralle's papers and given by the late Colonel Heath to Elisha Cook Esq." Me. Hist. Soc. *Coll.*, first series, IX, 262.

The strong box in which the above was found is now in possession of the Maine Historical Society.

Governor Lincoln adds this item of interest: "In the manuscript dictionary of the Norridgewock language, compiled by Rallé, I found a small loose scrap of paper from which I present a short abstract, strikingly descriptive of his habits and temper. 'Here I am,' says he, 'in a cabin

In 1691 he received orders to begin work among the Illinois; in preparation for his labors he immediately began the study of Algonkin, only to learn upon his arrival that these natives had a very different speech. He was in this mission field for a period of two years, after which he returned to the Abenaki. Here on the Kennebec, he says he returned to devote the remainder of his days and in this mission expected to finish his life. There must have been some period previous to the writing of this letter when he was absent from the Kennebec, for the French minister, writing to Brouillan, June 6, 1703, says that the King is not pleased with the missionaries who intervened to promote the adoption of a treaty of neutrality between the Abenaki and the English. He has asked Père la Chasse to send back Père Rale.[27] This must refer to one of the Bigot brothers and apparently is the answer to a letter of de Brouillan written from Port-Royal, Oct. 30, 1701. "It is certain that Père Bigot who is charged with the mission of Kennebequi, has not the same sentiments since he did not prevent the Indians from having conferences (pourparler) with the English." A note

in the woods on the borders of the sea, where I find both crosses and religious observances among the Indians. At the dawn of morning I say the Mass in a Chapel made of the branches of the fir tree. The residue of the day I spend in visiting and consoling the savages:—a severe affliction to see so many famished persons, without being able to relieve their hunger.'" Me. Hist. Soc. *Coll.*, first series, I, 336.

In the Willis room of the Public Library at Portland, Maine, is a book upon the fly leaf of which is inscribed: "This book did belong to Mons. Rallé the Jesuit and Missionary from France among the Eastern Indians who was killed at Neridgewock when it was surprised and destroyed by Col. Harman, Majr. Moulton and Comp in ye year 1724." This was the Jesuit's vade mecum. It was given by Major Josua Moodey of Casco Bay to Wm. Welsteed. This is the book to which Baxter has reference and from the contents of which he has drawn such strange conclusions respecting the "mental lineaments of Père Rasle." J. P. Baxter, *The Pioneers of New France in New England* (Albany, 1894), 246.

In 1892 a ring was found which is thought to have belonged to this missionary. It consisted of a thin circlet of gold bearing a seal upon which was represented the Crucifixion. On either side of the Cross is a figure, probably the Blessed Virgin and St. John the Evangelist.

[27] Dispatches, Col. 1701, 2, 3. B. 23: 231 (transcript), Ottawa Archives.

follows this:—"M. l'évêque says that the Jesuits have withdrawn him." [28]

In his letters to his brother and to his nephew, Père Rale gives a detailed account of his life among the natives. It is an idle but interesting pastime to speculate on what might have been, had these Indians been left unmolested by their European neighbors and been given opportunity to work out their problems. Father Rale was one of the last to work among the Tribes; he was in a position to profit by the experience of those who had preceded, while he himself was a keen student of Indian nature. Had he met with no obstruction in his task, history would have had a different story to tell. Much of his energy was spent in rendering the tribe sedentary; he realized that no amount of preaching or teaching would produce permanent effects upon those who wandered among pagan neighbors or dissolute whites. To render his charges stationary he encouraged agriculture, while at the same time he recognized that the economic and climatic conditions were such that dependence upon the crops alone would mean starvation. Whenever then they made ready to set out on their seasonal migration to fish or to hunt, he was prepared to accompany them with portable chapel and all things necessary for the daily Mass. He gives the following example of the petition which would be made to him on the eve of one of these treks:

> Our Father, thou knowest us and thou knowest that we are in need of provisions. We have been able to give the last work to our fields, and we have no other resource, until harvest, but to go to the shore of the sea in search of food—It would be hard for us to give up our Prayer; therefore we hope that thou wilt be disposed to accompany us.[29]

His instructions were always simple, always couched in terms which they could comprehend "Be of good cheer, my children, do not let us separate—do not let some go in one direction, and some in another. Let us all go to Heaven, it is our own Country; the one and only Master of life—of whom I am but the interpreter—exhorts

[28] Acadia Corr. Gen., 1700-1703, C11 4; Oct. 30, 1701 (transcript), Ottawa Archives.

[29] Letter of Père Rale to his brother, *Jes. Rel.*, LXVII, 215.

you to this." [30] Because he understood so well the limitations of the native his protest to the minister Baxter has a ring of indignation as he points out that his Christians knew how to believe the truths which the Catholic Faith teaches but that they did not know how to discuss them—that they were not sufficiently learned to solve the difficulties which the minister had proposed to them.[31]

Père Rale is the best known of all the missionaries who labored in the Abenakian mission field. One reason for this has been given by a recent writer: "Thanks to the careful and systematic efforts of historians, not the least noteworthy of whom are those who have edited and published the collections of the various New England Historical Societies, practically every obtainable item of information relating to Father Rale has been printed." [32] Again the thirty years of his life on the Kennebec are identified with the relations between the Indians of Maine and the English; the attachment of the Indians to his person and to his teachings made him a force to be reckoned with. But aside from the part which he played in the drama of those years, there is something in the character of the man himself which arouses either unstinted admiration or unqualified condemnation. In his own day, his associates regarded him as a saint during life, and as a martyr in his death. The circular letter which carried the announcement of his tragic end to the superiors of the religious houses asked for the usual suffrages but Père La Chasse who sent the notice added that it seemed unnecessary to pray for the soul of a saint.[33] To his English contemporaries his name was a synonym for "brutality, treachery, and villany." Lieutenant Dummer wrote to the governor of New France upon the occasion of Père Rale's death:

> In the first place as to what you say relating to the Death of Mr. Ralle the Jesuit which you set forth as so inhumane and barbarous, I readily acknowledge that he was slain amongst others of our enemies at Norridgewalk. And if he had con-

[30] *Jes. Rel.*, LXVII, 189.

[31] Letter of Père Rale to his nephew, *Jes. Rel.*, LXVII, 99.

[32] Rev. Henry Schuyler, "The Apostle of the Abenaki," *The Catholic Historical Review*, first series, I (1910), 164-174.

[33] La Chasse, Lettre circulaire, Aug. 23, 1724. Copy in Archives of St. Mary's College, Quebec.

> fin'd himself to the professed Duty of his Function vizt to instruct the Indians in the Christian religion, had kept himself within the Bounds of the French Dominions and had not instigated the Indians to War and Rapine, there might have been some ground for complaint. But when instead of preaching peace, Love and Friendship agreeable to the Doctrines of the Christian Religion he has been a constant and notorious Fomenter and Incendiary . . . to the Indians to kill burn and destroy, and when in open violation of an act of Parliament . . . strictly forbidding Jesuits to reside or teach within the British Dominions, he has not only resided but . . . has appeared at the head of great numbers of Indians . . . I say, if after all, such an Incendiary has happen'd to be slain in the heat of action among our open and declared Enemies, surely none can be blamed therefor but himself.[34]

The passing of time has brought no change; the "Apostle of the Abenaki" has his ardent admirers today as well as his bitterly adverse critics. Of the three types of charges brought against the Jesuit, one author has said that some need no refutation; some are buried beneath an accumulation of repeated denial and disproof, but there is "one that no amount of logic based upon a clear presentation of facts can silence"—that he stirred up the Indians to attack the English settlers.[35] On the anniversary of the death of

[34] Lt. Gov. Dummer to Mons. Vaudreuil, Boston, N. E., Jan. 19, 1724. Baxter Mss., Me. Hist. Soc. *Coll.*, Hist., second series, X, 175.

[35] All the available data concerning Père Rale have been summarized by the Rev. Henry Schuyler in two articles; one was printed in the *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society*, XVIII; the other, in the *Catholic Historical Review*, first series, I, 164-174. A list of sources accompanies the latter article.

The following is a list of Rale's letters all of which have been printed:

(1) Lettre à M. son neveu; Narantsouack, October 15, 1722, *Jes. Rel.*, LXVII.

Note: there is an error in the date as given by Schuyler.

(2) Lettre à M. son frère; Narantsouack, October 12, 1723. *Jes. Rel.*, LXVII.

(3) Letter from Sebastian Rale to Capt. Samuel Moody, Nov. 18, 1712. Baxter Mss. Me. Hist. Soc. *Coll.*, Doc. Hist., second series, IX, 134.

Note: Schuyler says incorrectly that the documentary series contains no references to Rale. Volumes IX, X, and XII have references.

(4) Letter of Père Rale to Captain Samuel Moody, Feb. 7, 1720. Sewell Papers, Mass. Hist. Soc. *Coll.*, fifth series, III, 245.

Père Rale, one hundred and nine years later, the Bishop of Boston assisted at the erection of a monument on the spot where the missionary gave up his life. The monument was afterwards thrown down but it was replaced and still stands a plain granite shaft, eleven feet in height surmounted by an iron cross four feet high. It rests upon a table stone five feet in height and four feet square. A Latin inscription is to be found on the south side of the shaft. The following is an English translation by the Reverend John E. Kealy of Lewiston, Maine:

> Rev. Sebastian Rale, a native of France, member of the Society of Jesus, performed his first missionary labors among the Iroquois and Huron tribes. After a few years he came to the Abenaquis, where during a period of thirty-four years he proved himself a true apostle in faith and charity.
>
> He was fearless in the presence of his armed foe, constantly proclaiming his readiness to lay down his life for his flock.
>
> On the twenty-third of August, 1724, while the village of Narantsouac was being sacked, his people slaughtered, his church burned, this most devoted pastor was slain on this very spot.
>
> To him and his departed children in Christ, this monument was erected and dedicated by Benedict Fenwick, Bishop of Boston, August 23, A. D. 1833.
>
> A. M. D. G.[36]

After the death of Father Rale, the Norridgewocks scattered; many fled to the Canadian missions; some sought refuge with the tribes of the Penobscot, Saco, and Androscoggin. Both French and

(5) Letter of Père Rale to Père La Chaise, Aug. 12 (O. S.), 1724.
Note: This is an unfinished letter which Baxter prints in *Pioneers of New France in New England*. He adds this note: "This is a contemporary translation. The letter may be found in the Office of the Public Records, London, where it was copied by the author *verbatim et literatim*."

(6) Letter on the door of the Norridgewock chapel, dated October, 1722 and addressed "Englishmen," supposed to have been written by Père Rale. Pub. Rec. Office, C. O. 5/10 (transcript), Lib. Cong.

(7) Lettre du R. P. Rasle a Monsieur le Gouverneur General: Narantsouake le 9 Septembre, 1713.

[36] John E. Kealy in *Boston Evening Transcript*, Saturday, August 23, 1924.

English writers can be found who assert that this is the end of the Norridgewock tribe on the Kennebec. Rochemonteix says "The mission of Narantsouak disappeared with Father Rale; Saint-François and Becancourt gathered in the few survivors." Yet as late as 1754 a letter is endorsed "from the Jesuit of the Penobscot to the Jesuit of the Norridgewalks."[37] It could not have been long after the dispersal that they began to reassemble on the Kennebec; a report of the intendants Beauharnois and Dupuy, 1787, notes that the "Abenaki of Narantsouak" wish to reëstablish themselves in their former village; that they are asking for a missionary who will preserve them in the Catholic religion, and they beg that the King of France be informed of the loss which they suffered when their church was destroyed and their missionary killed. They need a chalice, ciborium, monstrance and all things necessary for the services; moreover they desire furnishings for their priest's house.[38] It was a year and a half before the approval of his French Majesty reached the New World. In a memoir to Beauharnois and Hocquart both petitions were granted.[39] Opposition arose in some quarter; probably a protest was registered by the Jesuits, for in the following year, a letter to the Jesuit Superior approves that the "establishment of a missionary there be suspended." The reason given was the fear that the Indians settled on the St. Lawrence would be tempted to follow the Narantsouaks back to their village in the forest.[40] The same year another letter from the intendants to the Minister urged the necessity of satisfying the Indians. They had made the trip from the Kennebec to Quebec five times, representing forcefully, upon at least one occasion, that in consequence of a refusal "they were in danger of losing their religion."[41] For some time longer the Jesuits held out for their old policy of segregation of the natives. They maintained that it was hopeless to

[37] P. R. O., C. O., 5, 14, 453 (transcript), Lib. Cong.

[38] Depenses des Jesuites en Canada, Quebec, Oct. 20, 1727. *Coll. de Mss.*, III, 136.

[39] Memoire du Roi, Versailles. 19 avril, 1729. *Coll. de Mss.*, III, 147.

[40] Ministre au Père DuParc. Fontainebleau le 25 avril. 1730. *Coll. de Mss.*, III, 152.

[41] Lettre de Messieurs de Beauharnois et Hocquart, Quebec, Nov. 5, 1730. *Coll. de Mss.*, III, 152.

look for permanent cultural or spiritual results from the Acadian missions. The French authorities, on the other hand, still favored the plan of using the remote Indian villages as bulwarks of defense. At length the Jesuits yielded and some time in the year 1730, Père Jacques Sirenne was appointed.[42] Not very much is known about this missionary. He was born in the Province of France, Oct. 22, 1695, and entered the Jesuit order Sept. 15, 1712. Four years later he arrived in New France. His labors on the Kennebec yielded scant returns; the Indians were so tossed between the rival nations that any efforts to render them receptive to instruction were in vain. That he wished to abandon the mission is evident from a letter written by the Minister to Père de Lauzon in 1733. After expressing his approval of the appointment of the latter as superior of the missions of Canada, de Maurepas adds that he is pleased that Père de Lauzon has prevailed upon the missionary who was at Narantsouak to return there. He hopes that the same missionary will be able to bring back to his mission the Abenakis who have dispersed into English territory.[43] Père Sirenne died Aug. 28, 1747; the record does not state whether he was at the Maine mission or whether he had returned to Quebec. Some time later Père Audran was on the Kennebec.[44] A letter written to him by Père Gounon is addressed: "A Mon Reverend Père Audran, Missionnaire de la Compagnie de Jesus à Narantsuag."[45] Evidently he is the priest to whom Governor Shirley refers in his speech of March 28, 1754. The Governor tells his Council that he has received a letter dated March 10, from a certain settler at Frankfort. This letter informs him "that the French priest, Missionary to the Indians of the River Kennebec appeared to be continually Using

[42] His name is also written Sirême or Siresme.

[43] De Maurepas to Père de Lauzon, April 21, 1733. Series B, 58, Ottawa Archives.

[44] Père Pierre Audran was born in the diocese of Beziers, Oct. 14, 1737. He came to Canada in 1752. In some of the English documents of the time he is called the Jesuit of the Norridgewocks; as a constitutional priest he was appointed curé of the Cathedral of Montpellier, France; he died suddenly while on his way to that city. This must have been some time after 1792.

[45] June 4, 1754, P. R. O., Col. 5/14, 453 (transcript), Lib. Cong.

Artifices to Excite the Indians to prevent Settlements from being extended higher up; to set them at variance with the English; and to dispose them to a War with them in the Spring." The governor then adds some further details mentioned by the same settler: "that the French priest hath been very inquisitive after Roman Catholic Families in that Settlement, and used endeavors to draw off some of the Inhabitants into the service of the French, particularly for building a chapel and a Dwelling house for himself upon that River." [46]

No other missionary is mentioned subsequent to this date, although during the following decade, the Abenaki seem to have held their own upon this river. Governor Pownall suggested to Pitt that a Fort be erected on the Penobscot and gives as one good reason for the procedure: "A Fort there would effectually in time of War restrain all the Indian-enemies we have left in the Eastern parts, the Noridgewaegs, Penobscots and St. John's." [47] They continued to dwell in their old village on the Kennebec until 1764, for in that year Governor Francis Bernard in his message to the Council and House of Representatives enumerates them among the tribes settled within the territory of Sagadehock; he alludes to them as the "Norridgewocks living at Norridgewalk," and says that they have been increasing in numbers since the peace was signed.[48] During the two years immediately following, licenses for trading were granted to various individuals, but there was always the stipulation that they refrain from trafficking with the Norridgewocks since a provincial truck house monopolized the trade on the Kennebec.[49] After this there is no further account of the Abenaki of the Kennebec. It is probable that some joined the Penobscots and the rest scattered among the Catholic missions of the St. Lawrence region.

[46] Baxter Mss., XII, 247 f.

[47] Pownall to Pitt, Jan. 21, 1758. Baxter Mss., Me. Hist. Soc. *Coll.*, second series (Doc. Hist.), XIII, 120.

[48] Message of Gov. Bernard to the Council and House, June 6, 1764. Baxter Mss. XIII, 341.

[49] Instructions to Capt. Gideon Smith, April 20, 1765. Baxter Mss. XIII, 403. Andrew Worth's Licenses to trade with Indians, April 2, 1766. *Ibid.*, 443 f.

Missions on the Saco.

In 1700 the engineer, Romer, presented the English governor a report on the five Rivers. In his account of the Kennebec he mentioned: " . . . the Savages have two Forts at the head of the River which are cald Naridgeeack and Comesoquantick. They have two Jesuits in each fort which do great hurt to the King's interest and that of the Publick because they instill into those people an aversion and hatred for his Maty and his Subjects." In the same documents he refers to Catholic Indians on the Saco river: " at the head the Indians have a Fort cald Narracomecook, where they also have two Jesuits." He sums up his observations on the three villages in this way: " What remains to be observed is, That at the head of this River above the first and greatest Falls, it (the Saco) takes its course N. N. E. from the sd. River and the two former Indian Forts (which I mentioned in the Article of Kennebec river) do center all three within two or three days Journy of each other by wch means the Savages can conveniently correspond. And upon occasion draw together in a body as often as they please. . . ." [50] The observations of the English engineer do not correspond with the data found on the French maps of the same period.[51] The fort or mission which he calls Comesoquantick was not at the head of the Kennebec but on a tributary of that river (the Sandy). The

[50] Memorial of Wolfgang William Romer, his Majesty's chief engineer in America, to the Rt. Hon. the Earl of Bellomont. Baxter Mss., Me. Hist. Soc. *Coll.*, Doc. Hist., Second Series, X, 49.

[51] These maps accompanied memorials which were sent to the French court. There were two of Père Aubéry.

(1) Carte du Canada tirée sur un tres grand nombre de Memoires des plus Recents augmentée et corrigée sur touttes celles qui ont été faittes avant 1711. . . .

(2) Carte de partie du Canada de la Nouvelle France, de l'Acadie et., par P. Aubéry, Jesuite depuis le traité de pais d'Utrecht . . . Nov. 1713.

(3) Cartes des terres des Sauvages Abenakies (mss.) A. S. H. 124-1-4.

(4) Cartes de la terre des Ouabenaquies (mss.) 1.05 x 0.50 (18 S).

(5) Carte pour les hauteurs des Terres etc. . . . suivant les Memoires du R. P. Aubéry, Jesuite.

The originals of the above are in the Dépôt des Cartes et Plans, . . . Paris; photostats, Lib. Cong.

name given to it on the map is Annessak. The fort called by him, Narracomecock (Naurakamigou) is located not on the Saco but on the Androscoggin.[52] There is no mention in the *Jesuit Relations* of missions on the Saco river, although the Jesuits had become familiar with these nations during their first visit to New France. Père Biard refers to them in his letters of 1612-1614 and also in that of 1616. He uses the word which Champlain had employed—Choüacoit [53]; they were commonly known as the Socoquois Branches of the tribe, the Ossipee and Pequauket lived on the upper stretches of the Saco, and these must have been the ones visited by Römer. On Père Aubéry's map the mission on the Saco is marked Pegouakki. It seems probable that these are the Indians referred to in the following letter of the Earl of Bellomont written to the Lords of Trade in 1700:

> The Indians about the towns of Woodstock and New Oxford (consisting in ab^{t} 40 families) have lately deserted their houses and corn and gone to live wth the Penicook Indians w^{ch} has much alarmed the English thereabout . . . . . that the Jesuits have seduced those 40 families is plain from the several accounts I have received; some wherof I now send: Mons^{n} Labourie's letter to me w^{ch} is very plain evidence of the French Jesuits debauching those Indians.[54]

The M. Laborie mentioned here was a French Protestant missionary placed at New Oxford by the Governor. He was given a yearly stipend of 30 pounds out of the Corporation money; his charge consisted of eight or ten families to whom it was intended he should preach. The main purpose in placing him here, however, was to instruct the Indians and to obtain if possible a hold upon them for the English government. That he did not find the task an easy one may be gathered from the letter referred to above.

[52] Niles in his narration of the events of the year 1698 mentions the same three Indian settlements: "The captives reported, that the Indians had three forts, one at Norridgewock, one at Narrackomagog, and another at Amassacanty, and that in these forts they had chapels, and images in each of them." Niles, Rev. Samuel, "History of the Indian and French Wars" Mass. Hist. Soc. *Coll.*, third series, III, 246.

[53] Champlain map 1608 (Ms.), Lib. Cong.

[54] Earl of Bellomont to the Lords of Trade. Baxter Mss., X, 691.

When he inquired of the Indians why they were leaving the vicinity of the English he received the following reason: "Ils me dirent ensuite, que la religion des Indiens de Penikook étoit plus belle que la nôtre que les françois leur donnoient des croix d'argent à mettre au col." They departed despite the fact that he preached to them, he says, in their own language and exhorted them as strongly as possible.[55] The Pennacooks were located near the Saco river, so it seems reasonable to conclude that these three letters all written about the same time have reference to the same Jesuit or Jesuits; there must have been a mission in this locality. The following letters will throw some light on the identity of the missionary. The first written from Anmessoukkanti is dated "the four and twentieth of September (in the Julian account)" with no year. In the contents of the Baxter manuscript in which collection this letter is found the date given is October 5, 1696. That this is four years too early is clear from the other document. The letter of September 24 is from Père Vincent Bigot to George Turfrey, commander of the garrison at Saco. Evidently priest and captain are on the best of terms. The epistle begins "Vincent Bigot of the Society of Jesus to the Most friendly Person George Turfrey, Sendeth Greeting. What is the matter most friendly George that now for a long time we have not reed the Least Line from you in answer to ours. . . ." Though controversial in character there is the same strain of pleasantry throughout. One passage alludes to the Indian situation in this locality:

> But hearken most courteous George to what I am about to say to thee. I did and do still very much wonder at what I lately heard of a certain Indian; viz that the Earl of Bellomont earnestly desires to get us into his hands; so as to hire the Indians themselves with a great Reward that they would effect it; and that he gives out that if he once takes me, that I shall not go away Scot-free, but that he will thrust us into a most loathsom Prison where we shânt see a glims of Light at Noonday. . . . But when a certain Indian that heard this replied that the Earl of Bellomont went about a business that was odious to the Indians as well as to the French . . .[56]

[55] J. Laborie to the Earl of Bellomont 17 June 1700. Baxter Mss., Me. Hist. Soc. *Coll.*, second series (Doc. Hist.), X, 59.

[56] Baxter Mss., V, 455.

The answer to the above was written by someone signing himself W. S. The indications are that this is Lt. Governor William Stoughton. Stoughton had been instrumental in placing the French Protestant minister among the Indians and was not pleased at seeing his plans go awry; he writes:

"Letter to Vincent a Bigot"

Boston, Apr. 10, 1701.

Sir:

> That you may not always complain of not being answered, These are to let you know that I have seen what you writt to Capt. George Turfrey commander of our Garrison at Saco, dated the twenty-fourth of September last. And I can [give] you no thanks For you over Officiousness in endeavoring to proselyte the Subjects of my Master the K. of Great Britain, to your Idolatries. . . .
>
> . . . And you will account it friendship that we call upon you not to run upon the Sword's point; but to learn of St. Paul in keeping within your bounds, and not going beyond your Line which extends not to our Indians; . . .
>
> I strictly Comand & Require you to withdraw your self out of the King of England's Jurisdiction, where you now are; and that you cease from leavening the Indians with your pernicious principles and practises. Do you provide for your own safety . . . by speedily betaking yourself to Quebeck, or Paris, or Rome, or where you please out of this Jurisdiction. . . .[57]

There was a mission also among the Abenaki living in northern Vermont about the Missisquoi bay and along the river of the same name. A memoire of the French King to Beauharnois and Hocquart (1744) expresses his Majesty's approval of the settlement made by some French families in the vicinity of Fort Frederick. This memorial states that the fertility of the soil and the beauty of the climate should be powerful motives to bring about rapid settlement, but it adds, the "Mission of Missiskoni" would likewise contribute by affording the settlers spiritual advantages. The Canadian authorities were encouraged to aid Father Lauverjat in bringing about a removal of the Loups, the Abenaki, and the English and to see that no trade alliance should be arranged be-

[57] Baxter Mss., IX, 109.

tween the Indians and the English.[58] That this removal was never effected is evident. Jeffrey's map of 1755 shows that part of the country between the Connecticut river and L. Champlain to be occupied by the "Massassuk Abenaka." Moreover the speech of the Missiassik Indians to Governor Murray in 1766 would indicate that there had been no migration of the tribe. It begins: "We the Misikoui Indians of the St. Francis or Abenaki Tribe have inhabited that part of Lake Champlain known by the name of Misikoui, time unknown to any of us here present, without being molested or anyone's claiming right to it. . . ."[59] There is no record of any missionary among these people with the exception of Père Lauverjat. Eventually the remnants of the tribe joined the Canadian Indians at the mission of St. François.

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[58] Orders of the King, Mar. 24, 1744, B, 78, f. 25 (transcript), Ottawa Archives.

[59] Speech of the Misiskoui Indians to the Governor of Quebec in the north end of Lake Champlain, Sept., 8, 1766. P. R. O., C. O. 42 (transcript), Ottawa Archives.

CHAPTER VI.

Abenakian Missions and the Intercolonial Wars (1689-1763)

III. Missions in Eastern Maine.

Missions on the Penobscot.

The mission on the Penobscot was the largest of all the Acadian missions: whether the site of the former Indian village marks the location of the present Penobscot Oldtown is a question which has been frequently raised but which has met with no satisfactory solution.[1] Shea considers it an error to locate the present Indian village on the site of the ancient mission. He says: "It is usual to make Panawamské the same as Oldtown; but on the map of the Eastern part of New France (Charlevoix, Vol. IV) Penaonnke (Panawamské) is considerably above the outlet of the lake that enters the river opposite Oldtown."[2] All that is actually known is that the Capuchin mission was located at Pentagoët, and that a chapel was built there in 1648.[3] This may have been the chapel which in

[1] M. Begon au Ministre, Corr. Gen. 1715, 35 (transcript) Ottawa Archives.

[2] Note by Shea in Charlevoix, *History of New France*, Vol. V, 277.

[3] In 1863 a piece of sheet copper bearing an inscription was found near the site of the old fort. It was apparently the plate which had fitted into the corner-stone of the old chapel. The inscription read:

1648: 8 Jun F	ndtm in hnr
Leo Parisin	em Nrae Dnae
Capuc. Miss	Sanctae Spei
Posui hoc fu	

Completed and translated by John Gilmary Shea:

1648, June 8th, I, Friar	laid this corner-stone
Leo of Paris	in honor of Our Lady
Capuchin Missionary	of Holy Hope

U. S. Cath. Hist. Magazine, VIII, 176 (New York, 1864).

the plan of the old fort is shown over the gateway;[4] however Bishop Laval's Report for 1663 would seem to imply a separate building outside the fort. A small chapel such as is indicated on the plan of the Fort would appear inadequate to accommodate seventy families.[5] It is also known that by 1723 the principal mission on the Penobscot was located at Panawamské fully ten miles above the tide. When and under what circumstances this transition took place has not yet been told. On the map bearing the legend "Cartes des terres des Sauvages Abenakies (1 S)," the position of the mission is indicated and marked thus: "Panaoumké village abandonné situé dans l'isle."[6] On Père Aubéry's map, the same notation occurs but a line is drawn through the word *abandonné*.[7] L'abbé Casgrain says that in the year 1687 Bishop Laval divided the missions of Acadia between the Jesuits and the Priests of the Foreign Missions.[8] If this be the case, the fields of operation were not clearly defined for Jesuits and Foreign Missionaries[9] worked in the same missions and apparently at the same time.

[4] Fort de Pentagoët, Dépôt des fortification des Colonies, Carton 1, 36 (copy) Ottawa Archives.

[5] "Ecclesia ad fluvium Pentagouët dictum, a fluvio S. Joannis 80 circiter leucis remotum. Haec a P. P. Capucinis extructa et culta fuit, nunc ab iisdem Anglis occupata. Ad eam spectat natio Etechémic dicta, 70 familias numerat." Bishop Laval's Report on the Indian Missions, October 27, 1663. See Appendix, p. 153.

[6] A. S. H., 124-1-3 (photostat), Lib. Cong.

[7] (Photostat), Lib. Cong.

[8] Casgrain cites a letter of Mgr. de Laval to MM. de Bernieres, Demaizerets, et Glandelet, Paris, 18 mars, 1678, in *Les Sulpiciens et les Prêtres des Etrangères en Acadie*, 101.

[9] The Society of "Missions Etrangères," Rue de Bac, Paris, was established July 26, 1663, for the purpose of carrying on missions among the heathens. The King expressed his wish that it be called "le Seminaire pour la Conversion des Infidèles dans les pays Etrangères." In bequests made to the institution the purpose is usually mentioned, for example: "Je donne au Seminaire de Missions Etrangères pour la conversion des Infidèles . . ." In 1675 Bishop Laval united the Seminary of Quebec with that of the Foreign Missions at Paris. An interesting set of documents in the Bib. Nat., Paris, has been photostated for the Library of Congress: Actes Primities concernant L'Etablissement du Séminaire des Missions Etrangères, sa constitution et la forme de son Gouvernment. Bib. Nat. (Mss. fr.), photostat 1928, Lib. Cong.

The fact that the two Bigots were contemporary laborers among the Abenaki savages has caused considerably confusion in the written accounts of these missions. Maurault states that in 1689 both brothers went to Pentagoët; that Père Jacques remained for a short time and then returned to his mission of St. François-de-Sales on the Chaudière; that Père Vincent remained for two years, returned to Canada, and resumed his apostolate on the Penobscot in 1701.[10]

According to the Jesuit catalogues it was Père Jacques who was listed for the Acadian missions 1689 and 1690. But he was at this time in charge of the mission on the Chaudière so that his missionary work on the Penobscot must have consisted of brief visits. Casgrain thinks that the Bigots during this period were visiting the Kennebec and Penobscot in order to draw the Abenaki from these regions to the villages on the St. Lawrence "mais la se bornait l'action des Jésuites parmi les Abenakis; ce ne fut plus qu'ils eurent des missions fixées au coeur de leur pays." Père Jacques was on the Penobscot earlier than 1689 as the following shows. When in 1709 Anselm St. Castin returned to France to attend to a disputed inheritance, the assertion was made that his father's union with an Indian woman rendered him illegitimate. Proof of the validity of the father's marriage was sought in Canada and a letter to the Bishop of Quebec contains the following:

> Vous avez donné un certificat le 30 Septembre 1684 portant que vous aviez ordre au Père Jacques Bigot jesuit Missionaire de l'Acadie de marier le père et la mère du S. de St. Castain.[11]

The first mission made by the Jesuits was at Pentagoët; the date is given variously as 1689, 1694. It is extremely doubtful that in the former year the Indians were collected within the fort of the Baron St. Castin as stated by Maurault and a house and church built, for this was the year that the fort was seized by Andros. The Catalogs indicate the return of Père Vincent to Acadia in 1694. Rochmonteix points to the fact that Villieu met Père Vin-

[10] *Histoire des Abenakis*, p. 382.

[11] Dispatches relating to the North American Colonies, Series B, Vol. 30. 1709, marked no date in the Calendar but dated July 14 on the transcript (transcript), Ottawa Archives.

cent at Panaoumkil, the largest village on the Penobscot on the 10 of May, 1694. This however could only have been a chance encounter because the mission at this point was not established until after the arrival of Père la Chasse who did not come to Canada until 1700.[12] By 1696 Père Vincent had moved the mission to Narakamig in order to secure land better suited for agriculture. He was here replaced by his brother Jacques. A letter from the latter bears the heading "From the Abenaki Country October 26, 1699." He writes: "I started about the end of the month of August to go to one of our missions in Acadia to take the place of my brother who was in poor health." [13]

The *Histoire des Abenakis* makes one reference to Père Thury and his work among the natives. The footnote reads: "M. Thury était un prêtre séculier. Le P. de Charlevoix dit qu'il était un bon ecclésiastique et un zélé missionaire." [14] The author of the *Jesuits in New France* likewise gives but a passing word, yet no more able, zealous, and tactful worker appears in the ranks of the Acadian missionaries. Père Pierre Thury was born at Bayeux, France. He was ordained priest in Quebec, December 21, 1677, and arrived at the Acadian missions ten years later. In the Memoir of M. Tibierge, 1695, occurs the statement that the natives of the river Pentagoët appear to have great confidence in M. Thury who has been a missionary among them for eight years; he is necessary for the place for the service of the King and the good of the natives.[15] E. A. Taschereau would place his arrival in Acadia five years earlier with an attempted mission on the St. Croix.[16] The

[12] Moreover Rochemonteix has used the transcript of "Relation du voyage faict par le Sieur Villieu" found *Arch. Pub. du Can. Corr. Gen.* 13. "Villieu recontra le 10 mai, 1694 le P. V. Bigot à Penaoumkil. . . ." The Transcript made by Perley Moore, *Collection de Manuscrits*, II, 139, uses only Père Bigot. It might have been Père Jacques for he had returned this year from France.

[13] *Jes. Rel.*, LXV, Father Jacques Bigot of the Society of Jesus to a Father of the same Society, Oct. 26, 1699.

[14] Maurault, p. 382.

[15] Memoir on Acadia, M. Tibierge, Fort Naxouat, Oct. 1, 1695. *Coll. de Mss.*, II, 185.

[16] *Memoir on the Acadian Missions of the Priests of the Foreign Seminary.*

early scenes of his missionary labors were among the Micmacs and Malecites of the Gulf region; later he instructed in the Abenaki villages near the Baie Française making his headquarters at Pentagoët. It must have been at this time that he visited l'abbé Petit at Port-Royal.[17] The latter writes to Bishop St. Vallier: "Votre predecesseur, Monseigneur, m'avait envoyé ici pour me consoler M. Thury qui est retourné sur ses pas rendre comte de ses courses apostoliques."[18] The letters of the period between the officials in France and those in the colony contain frequent references to the valuable services rendered by Père Thury. Frontenac bore witness at the Court in 1695 to the progress of his mission and to the rapid spread of the Faith among the natives.[19] To him was intrusted the charge of distributing among the savages the presents sent to them from France. Just as was the case in the Jesuit missions, he has been accused of having taken too active a part in the political life of the times. He accompanied his neophytes to battle as did his Jesuit and Recollect confrères. On the 30th of May, 1694, the Sieurs de Villieu and Thury with five hundred Indians departed for the lower part of the Kennebec. What seems to have roused the missionary to this action was the report which had reached him that a Protestant minister had been sent to the fort of Pemaquid to teach the young savages to read and write.[20] Two years later when Pemaquid was attacked by the French, Père

[17] *Estat present de l'Eglise*, 105.

[18] L'abbé Petit who had been appointed vicar of the Acadian missions in 1676 had established himself at Port-Royal. He had been a Captain in the regiment of Carignan-Salières. Since he entered the priesthood at an advanced age he lacked much of the theological and philosophical knowledge which forms part of the sacerdotal preparation. What he lacked in training he made up in piety and extraordinary virtue, qualities which were more valuable under the circumstances. He was sent by the Bishop of Quebec to replace the Recollect Père Moulin who had served the parish of Port-Royal for twelve years. What the missionary found hardest to bear was the loneliness. There was no other priest on the peninsula of Nova Scotia until Père Thury's arrival.

[19] Minister to Père Thury, Versailles, 16 April, 1695; Minister to Bishop of Quebec, 16 April, 1695.

[20] Relation du Voyage, etc. Corr. Gen. 13, Ottawa Archives.

Thury was there with his Indians. The Sulpician Father, Père Baudonin, tells the story in his journal:

> On the 15 of July we arrived at the River St. Jean where we found M. de Villebon and Father Simon with one hundred Indians.
>
> On the 7 of August we arrived at Pentagoët where we found M. de Thury and de St. Castaign with one hundred fifty Indians who were waiting for us.
>
> The 13 Villieu and Montigny set out in a canoe and M. Thury and Père Simon with the Indians.[21]

Another incident which had disturbed the missionary was the treacherous killing of some of the Abenaki chiefs. Taxous and Edzerimet with some of their followers, upon the invitation of the English commandant, but contrary to the advice of the missionary, had gone to the English fort to trade.[22] They were attacked and four of their number killed, including Edzerimet.[23] A letter from the Minister the following year expresses the appreciation of his services:

A Versailles, le 6 Mars 1697

> Je suis bien aise de me servir de cette occasion pour vous dire que j'ay esté informé non seulement de vostre zèle et de vostre application pour vostre mission et du progrez qu'elle fait pour l'advancement de la Religion avec les Sauvages mais encore de vos soins pour les maintenir dans le service de Sa

[21] Journal du S. Baudonin Missionnaire: Journal du Voyage que j'ai fait avec M. d'Iberville, capitaine de Frigate de France en l'acadie et de l'acadie en l'isle de terreneuve. 26 juin 1696 jusquand may 1697 du 2 7br. 1697. Mss. in Archives of the Seminary at Quebec.

[22] The natives were never able to resist the carefully planned inducements of the English traders. A year or so later the Earl of Bellomont wrote: "I shall be glad if you would think of ways to Ingage the Neighbor Indians in a Trade with you, which I am apt to believe may be managed with that advantage to them, by a good regulation and underselling the French, that their friendship and fidelity may be secured to the Crown, and then they will no longer be thorns in our sides." *The Earl of Bellomont's Speech to the . . . Council and House . . . June 2, 1699*, printed in Boston 1699. Photostat, Boston, 1923.

[23] Coll. Moreau St. Méry., 1696 Serie F3 VII. (transcript), Ottawa Archives.

> Majestie et pour les encourager aux expeditions de guerre auxquelles elle les a fait employer. . . .[24]

The missionary was in a better position than anyone else to see the difficulties of the natives. The English official of that day and the average English writer of the present scores the missionary as an emissary of the French Crown. On the other hand the representatives of the French civil and military power were continually complaining that the priests were not active in stirring up the Indians against the English. Abbé Thury wrote to this effect in 1694. The letter is addressed to Count de Frontenac. He describes the distress of the Indians and ends with these words:

> Toutes ces considerations, dis-je, mettant nos sauvages dans de grandes perplexités, parce que d'eulx mesmes, ils ne sont pas capables de resister aux Anglois et de quitter leur pais pour s'etablir ailleurs ils ne le peuvent sans s'exposer de mourir de faim et de miser.[25]

Like the Jesuit he reached the conclusion that the only way in which permanent results could be produced would be by removing the Indians completely from contact with the whites. With this end in view, he wrote to the French minister in 1698 concerning a project which he had of gathering all of the natives of the Acadian peninsula into one settlement at Chibouctou. The French King gave his approval and as an earnest of his future financial assistance sent two thousand pounds to be used in the purchase of tools and provisions.[26] On the third of June 1699, Père Thury died, and was buried at Chibouctou.[27] His proposed reduction had not been accomplished. Those who continued his work did not view the plan with favor. An extract from the memoir of de Brouillan 1701 reads: "Messieurs Maudaux and Le Guay here have not followed up the proposed establishment projected by

[24] The Minister to M. Thury missionary among the Abenaki Indians at Pentagoët. Pub. Arch. Can., Serie B. 19.

[25] Letter du R. P. Thury à M. le Comte de Frontenac à Penhemhover 11 Sept. 1694. *Coll. de Mss.*, II, 149.

[26] Letter du Ministre à M. Thury à Versailles, le 13 avril 1699.

[27] The monument which the Indians erected above his grave is described in Dierevill's Journal, 33.

M. Thury for the natives of Acadie." The reasons given were that in the absence of a stable food supply dependence must be had upon hunting and fishing; provisions from such sources could be readily secured if the natives dwelt in small scattered groups. Again since the natives succumbed very easily to the contagious diseases peculiar to the civilized whites it would be more prudent to limit the number of those residing in a given locality. Moreover even though the scheme be advantageous it would not be feasible at that moment since M.Guay must return to France and M.Mardoux must fill the cure of Port-Royal for which the Bishop had appointed no incumbent.[28]

One name found joined with that of M. Thury on the Penobscot is that of Père d'Eschambault. Jacques Alexis de Fleury d'Eschambault was the son of Jacques Alexis de Fleury d'Eschambault and of Marguerite Chavigny of Cherotière. He was born at Quebec, baptized the 15 of August, 1672, entered the *petit séminaire* Oct. 1, 1681 and the *grand séminaire* November 30. He received minor orders and the subdiaconate in 1693. He then went for a short period to reside with Père Thury in Acadia. As no acts of ordination have been found in Quebec, it is thought that he went to France for that ceremony. The year 1694 finds him again on the Acadian mission.[29] He was on the Penobscot in 1697 for there is a letter of his dated Panawanstch (Panaouské), 24 September, 1697. He is still at this mission in March of 1698. A memorial to Sieur de Bonaventure directs that he land at Pentagoët the presents for the Indians which he will deliver to his colleagues MM. de Thury and de Chambaux.[30] According to a letter from M. Maizerets to Père Gravier his death occurred at Mines, August, 1698. Some criticism has been made of the conduct of this missionary; there seems to have been however no definite charge brought against him. Probably lack of judgment, tact and ex-

[28] Memoire de Sieur de Brouillan à Port-Royal le 22 Oct. 1701. *Coll. de Mss.*, II, 387.

[29] These data were furnished to the writer by Monseigneur Amedée Gosselin of the Seminary at Quebec.

[30] Register of Royal Orders and other Dispatches March 26, 1698, Series B, 19 (transcript), Ottawa Archives.

perience rendered it difficult to escape censure.[31] Of l'abbé Le Guay, Casgrain says he was "a good priest and an honest man but without experience." He had to be sent back to France in 1702.

Père Thury had been vicar general of Acadia and later (May 12, 1698) he was appointed superior general of all the missionaries of that region.[32] On the Penobscot the task of evangelizing the natives was taken over by Père Gaulin, also of the Foreign Missions. L'abbé Antoine Gaulin was born in the Parish of Ste. Famille, Ile Orleans, and baptised April 17, 1674. He entered the Seminary of Quebec January 30, 1688, and was ordained priest on December 21, 1697. In the following year he was sent to Acadia to continue the work of Père Thury among the Abenaki.[33] Although appointed to the Acadian field in 1698, he did not go immediately to his mission, for a letter from the Superior of the Foreign Missions to the Superior of Jesuits says:

> M. Gaulin me mande qu'il doit passer un mois chez le P. Bigot qui l'y a inviter, pour l'aider a se former: vos Pères et nous et tout le public sont edifiés de cette bonne intelligence.[34]

In 1701 he replaced M. Le Guay. Like those who had preceded him, he protested against the exploitation of the natives for the benefit of the Europeans. A letter from the Intendants to the Minister in 1703 anticipates any favorable action of the Crown upon the removal of the Indians: "le sieur Gaulin et le Père Aubry jésuites missionaires à l'Acadie, nous ont proposé, Monseigneur,

[31] "L'Acadie a eu son berceau, de ces missionaires inertes et tolérant les abus. Nommons les abbés Braut, Vauquelin, Guay, et Deschambault, hommes peu formés, inexpérimentés, mal équilibrés qui sacrifièrent les préceptes de l'Evangile et de la discipline de l'Eglise aux convoitises des accapareurs et à la cupidité des ladres de l'époche." Ph. F. Bourgeois C. S. C. *Les Anciens Missionaires de l'Acadie* (Shediac, N. B., 1910), 17.

[32] *Arch du Sem. de Que.* Pol. IX.

[33] Data for the biography furnished to the writer by Monseigneur Gosselin. Note in the Annales du Petit Seminaire de Quebec: "1688 Antoine Gaulin de l'isle d'Orleans age de 14 ans entra le 30 janvier 1688 ayant deja commencé ses études; il prit la soutanne 1694."

[34] Lettre de M. Desmaizerets su P. Gravier à Quebec ler aout 1699. *Arch. de Sem. de Que.*, S. N. 101.

d'attirer ici, les villages des Abenaquis. . . ." The Fathers had represented that since the Indians in this region were living on land which the English claimed, they would either have to submit to English authority or suffer for the very necessities of life. The French officers presented the usual counter-plea that the Indians formed a necessary defence between the French possession and the encroachments of the English, and that their removal would be detrimental to the French interests.[35] Although unsuccessful at this time, Père Gaulin did not give up hope; in 1706 he was trying again to interest the French court in the removal of the Indians. This time he met with a favorable response; he was told to confer with the former Governor, Bonaventure (1704-6), as well as with the present one Subercase.[36] The following year brought a further approbation from France together with a gift of tools for the proposed settlement.[37] By 1713 the civil authorities realized the missionary's point of view. The priest had been making every effort to hold the savage lest he be lost to the Faith; the statesman now began to understand that unless the friendly natives were segregated, they were going to be won over to English allegiance. But it would require some inducement as M. Costabelle pointed out; seed, corn, tools, munitions, and arms had to be furnished at a considerable cost, for it had to be borne in mind that the English were offering much better bargains in the line of trade than the French could possibly afford to offer.[38] The plan this time was to transfer all the Indians to Cape Breton so that if the Penobscot River were to be included in the English claims with the final definition of the Acadian boundary, those Indians would not be lost to France. The French were beginning to recognize the possibility of the limits being so determined. A letter to Vaudreuil and Begon urged that they find evidence which would establish the boundary at Pesmokouady (Passamaquoddy), but that it

[35] M. de Beauharnois et Vaudreuil au Ministre à Quebec. le 15 Nov. 1703.

[36] Dispatches North America Col. 1705-6. Series B. Acadia 101. Minister to Père Gaulin, Versailles, May 22, 1706 (transcript), Ottawa Archives.

[37] Minister to Gaulin, June 30, 1706. Series B. Acadia (transcript), Ottawa Archives.

[38] M. de Costabelle au Ministre Plaisance Oct. 24, 1713. *Coll. de Mss.*, II, 566.

would be far better should they find documents limiting Acadia to the Peninsula.[39]

Père Gaulin, never robust, early showed signs of breaking under the strain of missionary life. Not only did he have to endure the deprivations and fatigues of the life but there was the constant watchfulness which must be maintained in order to avoid conflict with the civil power. When he was obliged to remonstrate with an official concerning the traffic in *eau-de-vie,* the counter charge was brought against him of carrying on illicit trade with the English.[40] Far from trafficking with the English it seems more probable that he is one of the priests referred to in Dudley's report. (Was Père Aubéry the other?) Dudley wrote:

> I have now humbly to Acquaint Your Lordships that since my treaty in July with the Sachems of the Eastern parts, and all the Obligations taken from them of their Obedience to her Maty & presents to the value of 300 li. A small party of about 30 french men with only three Officers & two preists from Port Royal with about two hundred Cape Sable Indians . . . came around the bay of Fundee and have debauched all the Eastern Coast from St. Croix to the Province of Main . . . and the Fryers make it all religion, and say mass over Every thing publickly in the Camp Night and Morning. . . ." [41]

The missionary's relations with St. Castin were enough to arouse the suspicions of the French officials for much as the Baron declared his attachment to the French cause, he was not averse to turning an honest penny, when he could, in trade with the English. According to the English story he was not entirely loyal to the French interests. In a report sent to the Earl of Bellomont concerning a conference between Captain John Alden and St. Castin this account is given of the Baron's activities:

> Capt'n John Alden was with me the 13 of this Instant June, and told me he was newly returned from Penobscot River to ye

[39] Kings Dispatches and Orders respecting the Colonies 1713. Series B (transcript), Ottawa Archives.

[40] Port-Royal, Oct. 20, 1700 Corr. Gen. Acad. CII, 4 (transcript), Ottawa Archives.

[41] Col. Dudley to the Board (Trade and Plantations) dated 15th Sept. 1703. Me. Hist. Soc. *Coll.,* sec. ser., Doc. Hist., IX, 151, 153.

> Eastward where he saw and discoursed with Monsr. de Saint Castin a French Gentleman that lives there and with whom the sd. Alden had traded several years. Monsr. de St. Castin told him he hop'd he should Shortly come under the King of England's Government, for that he had much rather be a subject to England than a slave to France; . . . 'Tis said the French Governours of Canada & St. John have sent several times to go to them, but he would not go near 'em. He professes great kindness to the English and Speaks English. He gave advice to some of the late Governours here of the designes of the French against this Countrey. . . ." [42]

Père Gaulin was not, however, involved in these transactions, A passing reference in a letter indicates that his bodily sufferings were great: "sa santé en état pitoyable en Acadie." [43] As a result of his appeal in behalf of his mission the Navy Board took the following resolutions:

> Les missions des sauvages dont à soin ce missionnaire est utile a l'isle Royal, et il est très necessaire de les avoir dans nos intérêts.
>
> M Gaulin est aimé de ces sauvages a toujours bien servi, et est brave homme, et capable de faire faire et conduire même ces sauvages à une expedition.
>
> Il ne peut guères subsister avec 300 liv. sur l'état.
>
> Il demande quelques ornemens pour la chapelle de sa mission, on pourrait lui en faire donner pour 3 ou 400 livres.
>
> Fait et attesté le 3 may 1718
>
> par le conseil
>
> L. A. de Boubon Le Maréchal d'Estrées.[44]

It is doubtful whether this aid reached him, for the following year he wrote again, not in a spirit of bitterness but as a plain statement of fact. He makes a plea for justice to the Indian and then speaks of himself. His health has completely failed; his entire patrimony is exhausted; he has used it to hold together the Indians and to supply them with food and other necessities. Time after

[42] Account of what passed between Mr. Alden and Mons. St. Castin, June 13, 1700. *Journal of the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations*, V, 330-334.

[43] Lettre M 29, 23 Juin 1703. Archives du Sem. de Que.

[44] Deliberation du Conseil, Archives du Min. de la Marine et des Colonies Corr. 1718, V, 3, 179 (transcript), Ottawa Archives.

time has he prevented them from going over to the English; yet for all this he has received no reward. The small pittance allotted to him "is as the Lord may bear witness, neither for the good of religion nor of the colony." There is no use for him to attempt longer to keep up the struggle; he suggests that they send to France for some priest to replace him and to carry forward his work.[45] When confronted by the possibility of losing the valuable services of this indefatigable worker, the officials express regret that they had not sooner obtained from the Foreign Mission Seminary a priest who might have aided him and who might have been trained by him.[46] But the memory of princes is short-lived; despite his condition the missionary remained at his post and in a few years complaints against him were arriving at the French Court. He was blamed because the Indians on the St. John had not taken up arms against the English.[47] Again he was accused of having arranged a treaty between the Indians and the English. The Minister wrote to the President of the Navy Board asking for an investigation.[48] Meantime he worked and suffered. Those who had the opportunity of coming into close contact with him had only words of commendation. The letters sent to Quebec exonerated him from all the accusations which had been made.[49] The Seminary records indicate the return of M. Gaulin, in 1732, but he must have come back to Quebec somewhat earlier for in a letter of M. Brault, 1728, there is a mention of him: "M. Gaulin, prtr a pris la resolution de se returner au soin tout a fait devenu incapable et hors infirmités qu'il contractes dans les missions." [50] In 1733 he begged that his

[45] M. Gaulin to M. X. respecting his mission and the Indians of Saint Pierre. Corr. Gen., Ile Royal 4, 251 (transcript), Ottawa Archives.

[46] MM. de St. Ovide et de Mesy au Conseil de Marine, Dec. 1720.

[47] Rapport of M. Begon au Ministre. Quebec 4 July 1724.

[48] De Maurepas to St. Ovide, 28 mai, 1726. Series B. 49 (transcript), Ottawa Archives.

[49] Ils ont scu par le Sieur Brau [Brault] qui est venu cet été a Québec que le Sieur Gaulin ne s'était point comperté ainsi qu'on l'avait dit. Ces ecclesiastiques sont necessaires a l'Acadia où il est resté une grande nombre de Catholiques. Arch. du Sem. de Que. 1727.

[50] Lettre de M. Brault prtr. Oct. 1728. Mission L. 92. Arch. de Sem. de Que.

Superiors send him back to the Acadian mission but because of his great infirmity he was refused.[51] He died in 1740 at Hotel Dieu.

Captain John Gyles had been appointed to guard the English interests on the Penobscot and to keep up friendly relations with the Indians of that region. The worthy Captain sent a letter to Governor William Burnett, Nov. 2, 1728:

> May it Pleas your Excellency this Day Mo Casteen Gave me a Vicett, & says he Came Diractly from Menos town, with a Messeg from the Jesuitts to the Indians Concerning a Jesuitt not being a Louded to Carre on his service at Wanopolos Rial, and he thought it his Duty to a quaint the Chieffs of Panobscut with such a Weighty affear &c that they might acquaint your Excellency with it,
>
> In my humble opinion it is a Jesuitts contrivance to move ye Indians in that affear, but it being such a Distance from this place, they ar not much concerned at Present Not, but yt ye Jesuitts & will make ye Indians Vnasy if they Can on this Affear at Wenopolos.
>
> I Desiard of Mo Casteen whether sd Jesuitt Did offer to Cary on his Service in or near the sd Garricon he sd Just by ye fort, I tould him if any Jesuitt should presume to Carry on his Service in this Garricon I Commanded, they might depend that I should also forbid him &c the indians sd they believed, they Could not Say to ye Contrary.
>
> St. Georges fort
> Nobr. 2nd 1728.
> I am your Excellencys Most Dutyfull Servant
> John Gyles.[52]

Menos mentioned above is probably Mines; *Wanapolos Rial,* without doubt is Port-Royal (Annapolis Royal). The reference to Jesuits is an error either on the part of Gyles or on that of his informant St. Castin. Fathers Gaulin and Brault were having trouble with Governor Armstrong about this time.[53] Also the Recollect at Port-Royal was recalled and l'abbé de Breslay of St. Sulpice replaced him. There are no traces of the Jesuits here at this time.

[51] Mission Letter 82. Mission Letter 40. Arch. du Sem. de Que.

[52] Baxter Mss., Me. Hist. Soc. *Coll.*, Doc. Hist. sec. ser., X, 430.

[53] Series B, 2586, Pres. of Navy Board to M. St. Ovide, 1728. (transcript), Ottawa Archives.

Mission on the St. Jean.

During the years of English occupation of Acadia (1654-1670) Catholic missionaries were not encouraged. But when by the Treaty of Breda (1670) the country passed under French control, the priest again appeared to minister to the Acadian people. But it was a disheartening process, for when allegiance changed overnight, conditions were too unstable to encourage permanent settlement. In the year 1680 there were only seven white settlers on the St. Jean. The natives too reacted to the atmosphere of unrest; they roved hither and thither in search of food. It must have been during this period that the Recollect Père Claude Moreau visited this part of the country and ministered to both natives and whites. His baptismal record now in the archiepiscopal archives at Quebec shows a record of nine Indian children baptised in July, 1680, at Jemsek.

The Jesuits claim Père Aubéry as the founder of the Maliseet mission (1701) on the St. Jean but there is ample evidence to show that the Recollect Père Simon had been working among these Indians for some years before the Jesuit arrived. It is probable that the Recollect attempted no permanent establishment but roamed up and down the river instructing wherever he could secure a number of the Indians. Glimpses of him may be caught in the journal kept by John Gyles. Gyles, a ten-year old English boy, was captured on the lower part of the Kennebec and taken by the Indians to the St. Jean River. He writes:

> The priest of this river was of the order of St. Francis, a gentleman of a humane, generous disposition. In his sermons he severely reprehended the Indians for their barbarities to captives. He would often tell them that excepting their errors in religion the English were a better people than themselves.

This was high praise from young Gyles for he had the New Englander's horror of all things Catholic, especially of Catholic priests. In several other places in the Gyles narrative there are references to Father Simon's kindly as well as timely interference on behalf of the little captive. When two Indians are discussing the advisability of putting the boy to death, and of thereby ending the dispute with regard to ownership, " honest Father Simon, the priest of the river, told them it would be a heinous crime and advised them to sell

me to the French." Gyles adds that when he shows his terror at the thought of being sold to the enemies of his race, the priest again consoles him and promises that if he is not happy with his new master, Father Simon himself will redeem the boy.[54] The missionary preached to the Indian humane treatment of prisoners and himself gave the best possible example, but Père Simon, like the other missionaries was devoted to the cause of his people and took an active part in the defense of the country against the English. In July, 1696, he collected a force of 150 Indians of the Maliseet and Micmac tribes and brought them to the aid of Villebon. He it was who brought to Fort Naxouat, August 29, the news of Iberville's success at Pemaquid. The last reference to this zealous missionary is in a letter of Villebon written in December, 1698, in which he says that Père Simon is ill at Jemseg.[55]

In the interim between the death of the Recollect and the coming of the Jesuits, the Indians of the St. Jean received occasional visits from Père Gaulin. Sometimes during this period there must have been a Recollect chaplain at the fort, for occasional references occur in the English accounts of Père Elisée who was most retiring " and not meddlesome in any but his duty." He must however have left before 1700 because in that year the Minister wrote to Begon of a unique suggestion on the part of Villebon. The latter had written that there was no longer a chaplain at the fort of the river St. Jean, and that it was over a year since the Recollect had left. He proposed that they send to Ireland for an Irish priest who might be able to attract to Acadia his fellow countrymen from the New England colonies. But he warns: " Il faut en ce cas que vous fassier cherchez quelqu'un de ces Irlandois mais ayez soin que ce soit quelque honnete homme et en qui on puisse prendre confiance." [56]

The Indians of the Malecite and Micmac tribes were more nomadic than the natives of the other tribes of the Confederacy, but even before the establishment of the mission of Medoctec on the St. Jean they must have used the site for a seasonal camping ground. When Bishop St.-Vallier made his tour of Acadia in 1686 as related in *The Present State of the Church in the French Colony in*

[54] Memoir of Odd Adventures . . . of John Giles Esq. (Boston, 1756).

[55] *Coll. de Mss.*

[56] Canadian Dispatches Series B, 22, 1700, March 10 (transcript), Ottawa Archives.

New France, he found some sort of bourgade there, for he says: "It seems to me that some fine settlements might be made between Medogtek and Gemesech (Jemsec) especially at a certain place which we have named Sainte Marie. . . . A mission for the savages would be well placed here." [57]

When after seven years at the Medoctec mission, Père Aubéry was recalled to St. François, Père Jean Baptist Loyard succeeded him: Père Loyard had come to New France in 1707.[58] He had studied the Abenaki language but a short time when he was sent to replace Père Aubéry on the St. Jean river. It was under his influence that the Indians here were rendered sedentary for it is at this time that mention is made in the colonial correspondence of the need of a church. The missionary sent a plan accompanied by a sketch of the proposed building. This was the plan to which Begon had reference when he speaks of one sent to him by the Indians. He says that they have already started a building fund but that they will need assistance. He urges that they be encouraged in their project for this will furnish a strong motive for attaching them to their village; as long as they remain in this position they will discourage English settlements at the mouth of the river. Vaudreuil gives the same advice in his report of 1716.[59] The French crown approved and this mission received the required aid.[60] In June 1890 there was found in the vicinity of this ancient mission a small slate stone tablet upon which is the inscription

D E O
OPT. MAX
IN HONOR D. IO BAP.
HOC TEM POS AN DO
MDCCXVII
M A L E C I T A E
M. P. IOA LOYARD SOC IES
SACERDOTE

[57] *Estat present de l'Eglise,* 80 f.

[58] He was born October 18, 1678, and when fifteen years of age entered the Society of Jesus at Bordeaux. He studied at Pau (1698) and at Toulouse (1702-1706). He taught at La Rochelle between the two periods of study.

[59] Rapport de M. de Vaudreuil au Ministre, Sept. 2, 1716, *Coll. de Mss.,* III, 19.

[60] Memoire du Roy aux Sieurs Marquis de Vaudreuil et Begon.

The inscription was completed and translated by Bishop Howley of Newfoundland and Rev. Father Jones, S. J., of St. Mary's College, Montreal:

Deo
Optimo Maximo
In honorem Divi Ioannis Baptistae
Hoc Templum posuerunt Anno Domini
MDCCXVII
Malecitae
Missionis Procuratore Ioanne Loyard
Societatis Jesu
Sacerdote

To God most excellent, most high, in honor of St. John Baptist, the Maliseets erected this Church A. D. 1717 while Jean Loyard a priest of the Society of Jesus was procurator of the mission.[61]

Père Loyard remained at Medoctec during the remainder of his life except for the year 1722 when he was sent to France to secure aid for the mission. He died here on the night of June 24, 1731. His successor was Père Jean-Pierre Danielou who is first heard of in 1730 in connection with the census which he made on the St. Jean.[62] By this time, the missionary of the St. Jean was making his headquarters at Aukpaque "the village at the head of the tide." It was six miles above St. Anne and was beginning to out-rival Medoctec as an Indian center; this was due to the presence of the French on the lower St. Jean and to the establishment of Villebon's fort at Nashwack (Naxouat). Here Père Germaine took up his abode. "Le missionaire de la rivière St. Jean est le père Germain, Jésuite qui

[61] W. F. Ganong, "A Relic of the French Occupation of New Brunswick," *Education Review*, 1893. Raymond, "Old Meductic Fort," *New Brunswick Historical Soc. Coll.*, I, 229.

[62] "In 1731 a few French from other parts of Acadie headed by a priest formed a settlement at or near the mouth of the St. Jean. This attempt at colonization was looked upon by the English authorities at Port-Royal with disfavor, and attempts were made to get English settlers from Boston for the lands of the river. In 1736 there were seventy-seven French inhabitants at St. John beside the priest whose name was Jean Pierre Danilo. For some unexplained cause they deserted the settlement at St. Jean and removed to St. Anne's Point and founded the present city of Fredericton. In 1749 this settlement numbered some twenty families." Jno. R. Hamilton, *New Brunswick*, 35.

fait sa residence a Ekauba distant d'environ 40 lieues du fort de Meengoek." [63] Both French church and Indian chapel were dedicated to St. Anne.[64]

It seems strange that in the collected *Jesuit Relations* and in the annotations accompanying the collection, there is no mention of Père Charles Germain's mission on the St. Jean. The bibliographical note furnishes the information that he was born in France, May 1, 1707, entered the Jesuit order 1728(9), arrived in Canada August 5, 1739; and died near the St. François Abenaki mission, August 5, 1779. His name appears in the Catalogue for the year 1759 "apud Abnaquaeos" and heads the list for the year 1749 "apud Abnaquaeos in Diversis Locis, R. P. Carol Germain sup."

The following difficulty is presented by the editors of the *Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents:*

> The printed Catalogue of 1749 says R. P. Gabriel Marcol Rector coll. and sup. gen. Miss. ab. Octob. 1748; that of 1752 has: R. P. Carol. Germain Sup. gen. ab. anno 1752. If Father Charles Germain was nominated in 1752 the nomination was not carried into effect. I have found no administrative acts signed by him as superior during that year while there are at least two signed by Father Marcol in 1752—one on Feb. 2, the other on July 16. Moreover the Catalogue of 1753 contradicts that of 1752 and reasserts R. P. Gabr. Marcol Superior gen. et. rect. coll. ab. Oct. 1748.[65]

Apparently the editors of the *Relations* had no knowledge of events on the St. Jean River at this time. Père Germain replaced

[63] Amérique du Nord, Reglement des limites Acadie 1753 printed in *Le Canada-Français*, 1891, 60.

[64] Abbé l'Isle Dieu wrote: "La Rivière St. Jean avoit une église paroissiale dediée à Ste Anne à 18 lieues du fort de Menagouech, située à l'embouchure de ditte Rivière. Sept lieues plus haut sur le même rivière et à 25 du dit fort étoit une mission de sauvages Malecites; à l'endroit nommé Koubak était l'église qui avoit une petite succusale sur une isle distante seulement d'un mille. Cette rivière est à 30 lieues de Beausejour."

An unpublished description of the French and Indian missions of the Maritime Provinces: . . . written by the Abbé l'Isle-Dieu, February 20, 1764, Archiv. de Propag. Congrez. Particol., 137, 23-26, transcript (Rev. John Lenhart, O. M. Cap.).

[65] *Jes. Rel.*, LXXI, 27.

Père Danielou on the St. Jean and proved acceptable to French officials, ecclesiastical superiors, and Indians from his first appearance. In 1750 l'abbé l'Isle Dieu writes to the Archbishop of Quebec and encloses a letter from Père Germain. Commenting upon the enclosure he says, "The letter here given is from Father Germain, Jesuit, one of the most zealous and one of the most prudent missionaries in the colonies, a man of detachment as worthy as one of those of the early ages of the Church. He has the esteem, veneration, and confidence of the natives as well as those of the French." [66] But in 1752 came the appointment of Père Germain to the Superiorship of the Canadian Jesuits. The correspondence of the period shows the disapproval of the civil functionaries. The President of the Navy Board wrote to Père Messaige, S. J.: "The success of Père Germain in his mission in Acadia makes it desirable that he maintain his office." [67] The fact that another Jesuit, Père Audran, had been sent to fill Père Germain's place did not satisfy the authorities. They protested: ". . . his assistance will be more troublesome than profitable if it be the design of the provincial of the Jesuits to recall Père Germain to Quebec to fill the position of Superior General of the Jesuits in Canada." [68] The abbé l'Isle Dieu presented the case to the provincial and asked that the missionary be permitted to remain at his post; certain representations were also made to the Court showing the need of having in this position a man who had won the esteem and confidence, the respect and obedience of the savages. No young man could replace him. Among the qualities mentioned were "an unselfishness without equal, a solid piety, an indefatigable zeal, and a vast experience." [69] This same memorial speaks of another Jesuit at the station of Medotek, three miles away. This was probably Père Lauverjat—the writer calls him Loverga—who now at an advanced age was about to leave the mission field. L'abbé l'Isle Dieu was successful; Père Mes-

[66] L'abbé l'Isle Dieu to the Bishop of Quebec, 14 Oct., 1750, Archives of the Archbishop of Quebec.

[67] Versailles, Mar. 14, 1753, Minutes of Letters, Series B. 98, 42 (transcript), Ottawa Archives.

[68] Amerique du Nord Reglements des limites Acadie 1753, 90-132 (transcript), Ottawa Archives.

[69] *Ibid.*

saiger, Jesuit *procureur* of the missions of Canada, took the necessary measures to prevent the withdrawal and Père Germain was notified to that effect.[70] He had been on the river St. Jean at least as early as 1744; a certificate given by him at that date reads: "I, the undersigned missionary of the savages of the R. St. Jean witness that Cheotewa, a native of Narntsouak, rendered service to the King in the war . . . à la Rivière St. Jean le 10 9bre 1744."[71] The winter of 1746 he passed at Beaubassin. M. duQuesne informs the minister that he has sent a message to the Sieur de Boishebert, commandant on the St. Jean, and to Père Germain, the missionary, concerning the "collier" sent by the good Indians of Narantsouak.[72] Montcalm, writing to the same in 1757, tells how Boishébert is greatly aided by the Jesuit, Père Germain.[73] He wrote in his Journal, May, 1758, concerning the former: "On lui a su beaucoup degrè de sa conduite; elle lui a fait honneur donnè de la reputation et le P. Germain à ce qu'on pretend n'a pas laissé que d'avoir grande part a cette."[74] Although dissatisfied with the actions of the missionaries Coquard, Maillard, and Manach, who have surrendered, Boishébert gives his approval of Père Germain's position: "je suis charmé en mon particulier que le hasard ait fait que vous soyez resté à votre mission."[75] Niles gives the English version of the relation between Jesuit and English:

> On the beginning of October (1759), the inhabitants of St. John's river having heard of the surrender of Quebec, sent to Lieutenant Colonel Arbuthnot . . . desiring to surrender themselves prisoners at discretion . . . and remove off their lands or grant them leave to continue with the liberty of their religion, as permitted to Canadians in the surrender of Quebec. . . . And more, as was said, were coming in to surrender in

[70] C. 99, 144 Paris 21, Mars 1753 (transcript), Archives of the Archbishop of Quebec.

[71] *Coll. et Doc.* III, 210.

[72] DuQuesne au Ministre Quebec, le 10 octobre, 1754, *Coll. de Mss.*, III, 273.

[73] Montcalm au Ministre, Montreal, July 11, 1757.

[74] *Journal du Marquis de Montcalm*, 338 (Quebec, 1895).

[75] Lettre de M. de Boishébert du R. P. Germain, le 21 fev., 1760, Series F. Printed in *Report of Canadian Archives*, 1905, Appendix H.

like manner; among others Père Germain, the Jesuit missionary both to the inhabitants and Indians in those parts (who) wrote to Colonel Arbuthnot from a place called St. Anne's desiring the like liberty to serve his cure as the priests of Canada had granted to them; and that he had abandoned the Indians, and was willing to take the oath of allegiance to his Britannic majesty; with other fair proposals and promises. Whether the Colonel had faith enough to believe and depend upon them or not, we have not yet heard.[76]

The governor of Massachusetts informed Secretary Pitt of the surrender of the inhabitants of the St. John in the following letter:

Boston, Nov. 20, 1759.

Sir:

I have this day received from Lt. Col. Arbuthnot one of my officers commanding . . . at St. Johns R^r an account that the Inhabitants of the River hearing of the Reduction of Quebec have surrendered themselves to him Prisoners at Discretion. . . . On ye 3d of Nov^r. He received a letter from ye Jesuit Missionnaire there Surrendering himself and desiring if he may be permitted to remain there and Save his Cure that he may be admitted to take the oaths of Fidelity. This Priest attempts likewise to mediate for ye Indians to whom also He was Missionaire.[77]

Père Germain himself wrote an account of the entire affair to Vaudreuil:

The River St. John, Feb. 26, 1760

. . . I arrived at the R. St. John on the Feast of All Saints and found that the French inhabitants had gone with their families to the English forts. I then took the resolution to join them which I did eight days later. I had the intention of accompanying them so as to assist them to die as Christians or to help them endure with courage those miseries which they will undergo if theirs is to be the fate of those already in New England. By the hand of Providence, M. Coquart arrived at this time. I asked the Commander to permit me to withdraw. He gave me a passport which permits me to remain in my

[76] Niles, *History of the French and Indian Wars* (written 1760). Printed in Mass. Hist. Soc. *Coll.*, third series, vol. VI; fourth series, vol. V.

[77] Gov. Pownall to Mr. Secretary Pitt, Me. Hist. Soc. *Coll.*, Doc. Hist., second series, Vol. XIII, 189.

presbytery. Here I will be sure to obtain news of any frigate from the Court [French]; I shall send you word.

When I was at the English fort, I learned that some of the Indians came and talked to the Commander. He received them graciously and proposed to make peace with them. The Indians accepted. However they took the precaution to consult me before taking the step. They said to me that as far as they could see there was no longer any hope of assistance from the French, now that Quebec had been taken. As for the rest, they would always retain a strong attachment for the French and would come to their assistance any time that they were needed. And at that I believe them sincere for they like the French better than they do the English and they impress me as being ready to suffer to the end rather than give up their religion.

As for myself I have decided to go back to France. If I see that Canada must fall into the hands of the English I shall go to Chiboutou and stay there as long as I can. I hope to see again one letter from you before I decide. I wish to know whether Quebec has been retaken.[78]

The Monsieur Coquart (or Coquard) of whom Père Germain speaks, was Père Claude Godefroy Coquart. He came to Canada about 1740 and probably passed the next three years in Quebec. He was sent as Chaplain of Verendrye's expedition in 1741; for some years he was at Michillimackinac. He probably returned with Verendrye in 1744. Some authors place him on the St. Jean prior to the conquest, but the evidence of his arrival in Acadia seems to be in the letter of Boishébert to l'abbé Manach cited above in which the writer says: "Monsieur Coquard part de Quebec sans ordre de son évêque avec un passeport de Monsieur Murray seulement et n'a rien de plus pressé sitôt son arrivée à la Rivière St. Jean que d'aller faire sa soumission ainsi que plusieurs autres habitants au commandment du fort Latour."[79] It is strange that l'abbé l'Isle Dieu calls this missionary a secular priest; "Le seul missionnaire seculier qui etoit à la rivière St. Jean etoit M. Coquart qui est actuellement en France depuis le traité de pacification et de neutralité de ses habitans avec le gouvernement." Although the document

[78] Printed in the *Report of the Canadian Archives* 1905, II, Appendix H, 195, 6.

[79] *Report Can. Archives*, 1905, II, Appendix H.

from which this is taken is without signature, it is thought to be by L'abbé l'Isle Dieu.[80]

Père Germain must have left the St. Jean region in 1764. Bishop Plessis says in his Journal that the missionary died in 1779 after spending the last fifteen years of his life at the Abenaki mission of Saint-François.[81] In 1766 Sir William Johnston was writing concerning the settlement of the Indian boundaries and in regard to the furnishing of a Catholic priest.[82] In the same month there was read into the minutes of the Council a memorial from John Anderson, Superintendent of the Indian affairs on the St. John River, setting forth the petition of the Indians for a priest; it was resolved "that when the Indians shall procure a Priest who shall be recommended by the Government of Canada that he shall be licensed to officiate for them."[83] The problem of securing a missionary to satisfy the Indians of the Penobscot, Passamaquoddy, and the St. Jean Rivers was one which was to give the English officials some trouble during the next twenty years.

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[80] Tableau Sommaire des Missionaires seculiers. Archives du Seminaire de Quebec. Printed in *Coll. de documents inedits*, I, 12.

[81] Monseigneur Joseph-Octave Plessis, *Journal des Visites Pastorales* (ed. by Mgr. Henri Têtu, Quebec, 1903).

[82] Shelburne Corr. 51. Sept. 13, 1766, Ottawa Archives.

[83] Minutes of Council, Halifax, Sept. 23, 1766. *Rep. Can. Arch.*, 1905-2, Ap. L. 259.

CHAPTER VII.

Indian Problems in Maine (1763-1783).

During the two decades which elapsed between the Treaty of Paris of 1763 and the later treaty of the same name, all Indian relations centered about three factors:—trade, land and religion. Prior to the conquest, the most potent lure to tempt the allegiance of the eastern tribes was always the superior advantage of the English trade. Every conference great or small dealt with the question. After the war less emphasis was laid on the importance of the Indian and the fur trade. With the encroachment of the white settler on the lands of the native, the latter could no longer secure the product of the hunting grounds to offer as a medium of exchange. Once the English held the land they themselves could secure the pelts without the assistance of the natives. This view was expressed by Sir William Johnson in a letter to Lord Newcastle:

> They [the Indians] desire to be considered as allies and Friends and such we may consider them at reasonable expense and thereby occupy our Posts and carry on a Trade in safety untill in a few years we shall become so formidable throughout the country as to be able to protect ourselves and abate the charge.[1]

The first Indian agent on the Penobscot, Jedidiah Preble, Jr., was also appointed truckmaster. He was not popular with the Indians and was removed from office in 1775.[2] From this time until the close of the Revolutionary War, trading and truckmasters is a recurrent topic in Indian affairs. Attention was paid to the wants of the natives whenever the colonists had anything to gain by compliance.[3]

By the Proclamation of 1763, England had guaranteed to the

[1] *Plantations General*, Letter of Sept. 25, 1763.

[2] *Mass. Archives*, 144, 36.

[3] Proceedings of Mass. relative to trading with the St. Johns and Passamaquoddy Tribes. *Am. Arch.*, fourth series, IV, 1201, 1432, 1442.

natives the lands which they were holding at the close of the Intercolonial wars:—"and whereas it is just and reasonable and essential to our interests and the security of our colonies that the several nations and tribes of the Indians with whom we are connected, and who live under our protection, should not be molested or disturbed in the possession of such parts of our dominions and territories as not having been ceded to or purchased by us, are reserved to them. . . ."[4]

As the Indians had been tenacious of their property rights preceding the English occupation they were no less watchful after the transfer of allegiance. On May 23, 1759, Thomas Pownall as Governor of Massachusetts Bay had taken formal possession of the country around Penobscot Bay and river.[5] He had erected a fort about which settlements were presently established. In 1763, the General Court made a grant of the Island of Mt. Desert to his successor Sir Francis Bernard which grant was later ratified and confirmed.[6]

In 1764, the Indians called for a Conference with Governor Bernard; it was held at Fort Pownall, where the case was presented as follows: since they were the allies of the French in the recent wars they were entitled to the same privileges as had been granted to the Canadian inhabitants by the Capitulation; they said that it was their custom to divide the hunting grounds and streams among the different Indian families; that they hunted every third year and killed two-thirds of the beaver, leaving the other third to breed; beavers were to them what cattle were to the Englishmen, but the English were killing off the beavers without any regard for the owners of the lands. The Governor thereupon ordered his surveyor to set up a mark to indicate the limits of the English settlements.[7]

Another matter which was disturbing the peace of the Indians was the gradual loss of lands as the white settlers pushed up the

[4] *Am. Arch.*, fourth series, I, 1774-5, 174.

[5] Pownall's Journal, *Me. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, V, 381.

[6] *P. R. O.* C. O. V, 761 (old A. W. I. 173), (transcript), Lib. Cong.

[7] Chadwick, *Journal of the Journey from Fort Pownall . . .* 1764, 6. Original in Mass. Archives.

river. Jedediah Preble as Chairman of the Falmouth Committee reports to the Massachusetts Congress: "Mr. Lane is returned here with four of the Penobscot tribe . . . Orono [8] the chief man seems to be sensible and hearty in our cause; he reserved what he had chiefly to say till he comes to Congress." [9] Preble tells that they were provided with money and means of transportation. Drake continues the story of the delegation:

> Only two days after the battle of Bunker Hill there arrived at Cambridge . . . a deputation of the Penobscot Indians of whom the celebrated Orono was chief. . . .
>
> They came to tender their services in the war now begun which was done by Orono in a speech to the Committee of the Provincial Congress June 21, 1775. In behalf of the whole Penobscot tribe, the chief said, "if the grievances under which his people labored were removed they would aid with their whole force to defend the country." [10]

They complained principally of the trespasses upon their lands. The committee appointed to consider their protests made the following report: " . . . we hereby strictly forbid any person or persons whatever from trespassing or making waste upon any of the lands and territories and possessions beginning at the head of the tide on the Penobscot river and extending six miles on each side of the said river now claimed by our brethren, the Indians of the

[8] Many traditions cling to the name of the Indian chief Orono; but the facts actually known are few. He is said to have been born in 1688; he died February 5, 1801. Whether he followed Wenamouet of Norridgewock as chief of the tribe or whether Tomah intervened is not known. Both are mentioned during the Revolutionary period. Orono without doubt was a half-breed. He is described as lacking the "copper-colored countenance, the high cheek-bones, the tawny features of the native. His hair was brown . . . his face was large, broad, and well-formed, of a sickly whiteness, and remarkably sedate. . . . He did not incline his head forward nor his feet inward, so much as Indians usually do. But what principally gave him distinction was his mind, his manners and his disposition."—Williamson, *Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, Third Series, IX, 82.

The town of Orono, Maine, was named in honor of this Indian chief; his profile head is carved upon the base of the Centennial Fountain in Fairmount Park, Phila.

[9] Falmouth, June 15, 1775. *Am. Archives*, series IV, 2 (1775), 1433.

[10] Samuel G. Drake, *Book of the Indians* (Boston, 1861), 339.

Penobscot tribe as they would avoid the highest displeasure of the Congress." [11]

More frequent, than complaints over land encroachments; more urgent than the demands for suitable trade provisions, were the pleas for a resident missionary. The first appeals were made to those to whom the Indians had been accustomed to turn in needs of this nature, but now the Church of New France, owing to the dearth of priests, was unable to answer their prayer. They next appealed to the new governor-general, but Murray advised them to apply to the governor of Massachusetts under whose jurisdiction they were considered. Meeting with no success they carried their petition to the Council of Massachusetts. This body was helpless as far as supplying this need was concerned and told them so. They were visited occasionally by the Acadian missionaries and sometimes by chaplains from the ships of the French navy. Finally they appealed to the newly appointed Bishop of the American Church and after some delay their sorely tried patience was rewarded.

Those among the English who were best acquainted with the Indians realized the determination with which they went about the task of securing for themselves a "popish missionary." Two interesting letters of Sir William Johnson illustrate this. These were written in 1763 and 1771 respectively, while the writer was "Superintendent of the Indians in the Northern District." In the first he refers to the proposal which he had made of prohibiting missionaries from visiting tribes which had been under the influence of some other religious organization but he adds "as we are hardly upon a par with them (the French priests) in the talent of making Converts the prohibiting upon our missionaries would be no great consequence." [12] The second letter is to Rev. Dr. Inglis, Episcopal minister at New York, July 4, 1771, concerning the plan for christianizing the Indians: [13]

> The Conversion of the Indians would greatly contribute to secure them to our interests and prove a means of counteracting

[11] Watertown Conference, *Am. Archives*, fourth series, 2 (1775), 1433.
[12] *Plantations General*, September 25, 1763.
[13] *Doc. Hist. of N. Y.*, IV, 454.

> the future designs of the French who certainly are very busy in sowing seeds of discontent amongst the Indians and will continue to do so whilst they have intercourse with any part of the Continent.—Under the circumstances which promise success to such an attempt at this time I am of opinion that our possession of Canada does in some measure secure us from the Practice of popish missionaries but not effectually which I think ought to be a spur to our industry. For their being at present a Romish Bishop and many Clergy-men of that Church there, who take uncommon pains to preserve the Indians in the Faith they were taught, and to gain proselytes. The Indians who have any Intercourse therewith being like the rest naturally captivated with pomp and ceremony will always be in danger until we have some establishments that may counterpoise the advantages they possess and the assiduity of their endeavors.
>
> The Capacity of the Indians for receiving knowledge and comprehending Divine Truth is certainly not to be doubted and as they have excellent genius for imitation after they have received due instruction in Christianity they may be easily and insensibly Led to become enamoured of the Arts of Peace.

The Church in Canada was no longer able to send priests to work in the former mission fields. When on the second of July 1760 the Chapter met, the following appointments were made: l'abbé de Montgolfier as vicar-general became responsible for the district of Montreal; l'abbé Perreault for that of Three Rivers; l'abbé Mailliard for Acadia; and L'abbé Briand for Quebec. After the signing of the Peace (1763) the Chapter again met and chose the Sulpician, M. de Montgolfier, Archbishop of Quebec. This choice did not meet with the approval of the English authorities; as a consequence the election was not ratified.[14] The selection of M. Briand followed, which choice was tacitly approved if not formally confirmed by the English government.

The greatest difficulty which the new Prelate encountered was that of securing priests for his immense diocese. The Jesuits, by Brief of Pope Clement XIV, signed the sixteenth of August 1773,

[14] Murray expresses his opinion to Shelburne in a letter of Sept. 14, 1763. He does not approve of Vicar-General Montgolfier but commends Vicar-General Briand of Quebec. C. O. 42, Vol. I, Pt. 1, 68, Ottawa Archives.

were suppressed as an order. Mgr. Briand secured from the Holy See (1774) a confirmation of all the privileges and indulgences which had been accorded to their Church in Quebec. But even before this decree had gone into effect, the order was diminishing in New France. A memorial of the last superior, Father Glapion, to Lord Shelbourne, dated Nov. 12, 1766, states that their number formerly about forty has been reduced to twenty-one. The same memorial gives the two objectives of the Jesuits in Canada: (1) the instruction of the Indians in the knowledge of the true God; and (2) the education of youth. They beg that the written order of Governor Murray forbidding them to receive persons whether European or Canadian be revoked; and they ask that all of their buildings which are now either occupied by officers or used as storehouses be returned to them; also that indemnity be made for the damage done to certain buildings which have been so employed.[15] The bishop was deprived of the services of the Recollects whose churches and monasteries were taken over by the English government for Protestant houses of worship. The last provincial, P. Claude-Charles-Felix de Berey, a Canadian by birth, died in 1800; P. Jean Louis Demers lived until 1813. These were the last Recollect priests in Canada; some lay brothers lived until 1848. The Congregation of the Holy Spirit (Les Spiritins) continued to furnish some missionaries to the Acadian region.[16] The last of these was l'abbé Bourg, missionaire and Grand-Vicaire for Acadia 1773-1797.

[15] *P. R. O.*, C. O. 42, Series Q3, June 24-Nov. 1766.

[16] There has been considerable confusion as to the claims of the Pères du Seminaire du St. Esprit, Sulpicians, and Prêtres de Missions Etrangères respectively, when noting the affiliations of the last workers in the Acadian mission field. The Superior General of the Congregation of the Holy Spirit, P. Becquet (1763-1788) writes "sa Congregation a fourni depuis presque tous les missionnaires en Acadie." The first writer to make any attempt to distinguish them from the older missionary orders was the Jesuit Rochemonteix (*Les Jesuites et la Nouvelle-France au XVIII siècle*, II 2, 268-271). The list of these Missionnaires who labored in Acadia has been compiled by Père David from the records in the archives in the Seminary at Quebec and contains the following names: MM. Maillard, Le Loutre, Le Guerne, Peronnel, LaMaire, Daudin, Vixien, Biscarat, Coquart, Bourg (David, Le P. Albert, *Les Missionnaires du Seminaire du Saint-Esprit*, 20).

Many priests had returned to France after the fall of Quebec; death took many who remained; and the English government refused permission for those who wished to come into the country. From one hundred eighty-one in 1758, the number fell to one hundred thirty-eight in 1766. L'abbé l'Isle Dieu writing to Cardinal Castelli Dec. 8, 1772, describes the condition prevailing. Those missionaries who remained were breaking down from overwork and exposure while none of French birth were permitted entrance—a regulation which the ecclesiastics dared not violate.[17] In this unsettled state of affairs there was no possibility of providing missionaries for the Indian tribes, yet there are indications that whenever possible the precious services of the priest were distributed between whites and natives. Père Germain, S. J., kept his station at St. François du Lac and ministered to the Abenaki until his death in 1779. P. Simon-Pierre Gounon, S. J., was at Becancourt until 1764.[18] Père Le Jeune says that the Recollects (1760-1813) confined their labors to the cities and country parishes but did no work among the Indians "sans s'etendre à l'apostolat chez les Indians." But the annals of Becancourt prove the presence there of P. Louis Demers from 1764 to November 12, 1767. Other Recollects followed:—P. Dominique Petrimoulx (1767-1769), and P. Nicolas Coutourie (1769-1774).[19]

The English missions in America were under the jurisdiction of Bishop Challoner, Vicar-Apostolic of London. To determine the extent of the American mission and to provide spiritual guides for

[17] "Ce qui reste encore de bons et d'excellents missionnaires y sont excedes et s'epuisent de travail, sans que nous puissons y faire passer des missionnaires français d'origine, d'après les dispositions et defenses même les plus formelles de Sa Majeste Britannique et à nous assez connues pour ne pouvoir les revoquer en doubte."—Mgr. Têtu, "Le Capitre et la Cathédrale de Quebec," *Bulletin des Recherches historiques*, Vol. XV, 2, Feb. 1909, 43-106.

[18] This missionary is not among the eight listed (1760-1800) by Père Le Jeune, O. M. I. Tableaux Synoptiques . . . Troisième Fasicule 1700-1800, 227.

[19] John Gilmary Shea leaves us under the impression that the Maine missions were entirely deserted during this period but it seems reasonable to suppose that missionaries like the Jesuits Germain and Gounon, and the Recollect Demers would visit from time to time those among whom they had worked.

the Catholics of the colonies taxed his resources to the utmost. There would be no attempt at this time to dispatch missionaries to the northern Indians. The following correspondence has to do with the matter of the newly ceded territory. The first is from Cardinal Castelli to Bishop Challoner:

9 July 1763.

Most Reverend Lord and Brother.

Since the request which your Lordship has recently made of this Sacred Congregation concerning the territory newly acquired by England, seems deserving of more mature deliberation, the Most Eminent Fathers have decided that it be postponed for the present until after suitable consultation they decide what may be of greater profit to the security of religion and the preservation of the American Missions. Meanwhile you will take care to inform the Sacred Congregation of the present state of the Missions in the Islands subject to your jurisdiction and will report in what particular way they are conducted. While awaiting this statement from your solicitude and outstanding zeal in the near future we pray that God keep your Lordship in health and prosperity for a long time to come.[20]

Bishop Challoner wrote:

Most Eminent Father:

In compliance with the wish of the Sacred Congregation, I will set forth briefly, as well as the remoteness of those parts, permits us to know the conditions of our missions in America. The British Colonies in America which the Holy See has placed under the jurisdiction of the Vicar Apostolic of London are partly on the Continent and partly on the Islands. On the Continent they occupy the very extensive provinces of Nova Scotia, New England, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, Carolina and Georgia. But in these most flourishing colonies, if you except Pennsylvania and Maryland, there is no exercise of the Catholic religion, and consequently no missionaries, the law and civil authorities prohibiting it. . . .

It is to be desired that provision should be made for so many thousand Catholics as are found in Maryland and Pennsylvania that they may receive the Sacrament of Confirmation. . . . Now that Canada and Florida are brought under the English

[20] Cardinal Castelli to Bishop Challoner, Rome, July 9, 1763. Archives of Rom. Cath. Diocese of Westminster, XLI, 33 (transcript), Lib. Cong.

> sway, the Holy Apostolic See could easily effect this, a Bishop or a Vicar Apostolic being established at Quebec or elsewhere with the consent of our Court, by delegating jurisdiction to him throughout all the other English colonies and islands in America. This would be far from displeasing to us, and would be greatly to the advantage of those colonies.[21]

On the Acadian side the Indians were able to obtain spiritual assistance from time to time. The Jesuit, Père de la Brousse whose headquarters was at Tadoussac, visited them in 1771; he blessed the new Church at Ristigouche and preached to those on the St. Jean. The register of M. l'abbé Bailly recording marriages, baptisms, and burials for the five years following the twenty-first of July, 1768, shows that both the St. Jean River region and the Passamaquoddy were visited by this priest.[22] In the autumn of 1773 there were two priests in all of the Acadian mission, M. l'abbé Bourg and Father James McDonald.

The American missions at this time were under also the jurisdiction of Bishop Challoner, Vicar Apostolic of London. He was unable to provide for the needs of the American Catholics, without attempting to provide missionaries for the natives.

As the Indians in the days before the cession had looked to the French Government at Quebec to obtain for them a missionary when their own efforts had failed, so after the English had taken control they employed the same tactics. Thus an account of the Conference between the Penobscots and Governor Murray may be found in the chronicle of a journey made from Fort Pownall up the Penobscot river to Quebec in 1764. The Journal was kept by Joseph Chadwick, a surveyor for the Walso and Muscongus Proprietors; it may now be found in the Archives of Massachusetts. This is the story of the conference between the Chiefs of the river and the Governor, as told in the *Journal:*

[21] Bishop Challoner to the Propaganda, London, Aug. 2, 1763. *Am. Cath. Hist. Res.*, XII, 44 (1895).

[22] Melançon in his *Vie de L'abbé Bourg* (59) mentions this five year sojourn "Son apostolat au milieu des Acadiens dura cinq ans" but Le Jeune (*op. cit.*, 226) says that he returned to Quebec in 1771 where he taught in the Seminary.

Their first speech was nearly as follows: The sun rises fair and clear as opens the day, we rejoice to meet you as friends in peace and health, but what we want is to desire you to carry our petition to the Governor of Canada; he then proceeded and humbly sheweth that during the time of the French Government in Canada, they supplied the Indians with a Friar free of expense and since the English governor they had no benefit of any teacher, by which the old men forgot their Religion, the young men could learn none, nor have proper marriages and christenings, etc., by which it was not in their power to live as Christian people ought to do.

Governor Murray's answer was: Governor Murray wishes peace and prosperity to his good Brother Governor Toman, but as far as sending him a Friar he had neither power nor inclination—but as the Penobscot Tribe are under the jurisdiction of Governor Barnard they should apply to him.

Sometime after our return the Indians had a Conference with Governor Bernard at Fort Pownell and there made all of the above pleas to which the Governor answered, "I can not send you a Friar but I will lay your case before my Master." [23]

Chadwick mentions in his Journal the finding of "some remains of the sills and scroll iron of Mass house" at Penobscot or Isle of Penobskeag. In another place he describes Mederwomkeeg also on the Penobscot which he says is an Indian town and place of residence in time of war, but now mostly vacated. "In the Mass house are sundry large books and other things. On the house hangs a large bell which the Indians take care to preserve."

The conference mentioned above between Governor Bernard and the Penobscots took place at Fort Pownall, September 26, 1764. The arguments were much the same as those presented to the Canadian official: "a Father to baptize our children and marry us, and administer the Sacrament to us, and confess us, and shew us the way to Heaven; . . . since we have no Father among us our People grow loose and disorderly, drink too hard, and run into many bad practices, which a Father (if we had one among us) would remind us of and correct."

[23] Murray's response differs somewhat in the version found in the public documents. There he says that he has no objections to a "Fryar's going from Canada" as the Indians request. P. R. O., A. W. I., 167: 111, 26 June, 1764.

The Governor told them that there was danger in permitting them to have a Father; that the priest would make mischief between the Indians and the government; moreover that he would have to be supported and that there was no fund for that purpose. He said however he would lay the matter before the King. One of the Indians answered that if there was difficulty on account of a Father's maintenance they would provide for him themselves.

A letter from the Governor to the Earl of Halifax, September 29, describes his dilemma: "I had a conference with one of their chiefs, a Man of the first Sense among them. . . . I used my utmost endeavors to engage them to accept a priest of the Church of England. But I could make no impression upon him. He said that God would be very angry with them, if they should desert the religion he had sent among them . . . it would not be right for them to change their religion as often as the power of the Country changed. . . ."

He then gives an illustration of what he calls the low arts which the priests have used to estrange them from the English government. He says that he noticed that the interpreter always called the English king, King James. When he inquired why this was done, the interpreter answered that the Indians had never had a word for king in their vocabulary until the coming of the Europeans to New England in the reign of James I. His name became their word for the ruler of Great Britain. Another interpreter verified this explanation but the Governor is not satisfied; "so here has been a system of verbal Jacobitism at least (tho' I suspect it to be more) kept up among the Indians from the revolution to this day." He finds it very difficult to solve the problem of this priest upon whom they are insisting; he cannot give them a "Romish Priest" because such a one will keep them stirred up over the expectation of a French revolution; a missionary of the Church of England would meet with many difficulties, although he would have safe and convenient residence and a new chapel; he could put on as much "show and form" as the English religion would permit and without doubt the Indians would by degrees become reconciled. Again a French protestant in English orders might be a solution but the best of all would be "one who has been a Romish priest and has conformed to the Church of England if he was sincere and

discreet. Canada must afford many such persons . . . Ireland must have such; but he must be Master of the french tongue if not a frenchman." [24]

Despite the Governor's theory that "with Indians who are not capable of abstract reasoning, the Utility of their religion is rather to be consulted than the truth of it" the petitioners refused to accept any but the Blackrobe for whom they asked. In 1776, they were at Watertown in the colony of Massachusetts; this time the representatives were from the Micmac and St. John River tribes. The conference ended as usual with the now familiar "we have said that we had to say concerning this matter and would again mention that we want a Truckmaster and a Priest." [25] The President of the Council expressed his appreciation of the high regard in which they held religion, but regretted that he had no French priest and did not know where to get one. He offered them one of the English Church and promised that he would be a good man.[26]

Meanwhile the Indians continued to make their request in any quarter in which they thought they might be heard. Thus Ambroice and Tomah, Chiefs of the St. John Indians, to the Provincial Council of Massachusetts Sept. 12, 1775, express their intention of joining the Penobscots in their opposition to the people of Old England; immediately they add: "We have nowhere to look for assistance but to you and we desire that you would help us to a Priest that he may pray with us to God Almighty." [27] On October 16 the Council passed a resolution to send an answer to the above: "We are willing that you should have a Priest of your own and worship as you choose; for our great dependence and trust is on Almighty God (who made you and us) for protection and defense." [28] The

[24] Me. Hist. Soc. *Coll.*, Doc. Hist., sec. ser. XIII, 368-373. Conference with the Indians, September 26, 1764. Governor Bernard to Earl of Halifax, September 29, 1764.

[25] *American Archives*, fourth series, I, 1776.

[26] A treaty of Alliance and Friendship entered into and concluded between the Governors of the State and the Delegates of the St. Johns and Micmac tribes of Indians. Council Chamber at Watertown, 19 July, 1776.

[27] F. Kidder, *Revolutionary Operations in Maine*, 55.

[28] *American Archives*, fourth series, III, 1465-1466.

Passamaquoddies did not join the other two tribes giving as their reasons their natural inclinations being to remain at peace and the insufficiency of their numbers. They accept however the Chain of Friendship and promise not to take up arms against the Americans. Although the Indians of St. John River signed the Treaty in question they did not take an active part in the fighting. Colonel John Allan had great influence over them but they were still more amenable to the suggestions of a Catholic priest. Allen had been appointed Superintendent of the Eastern Indians January 4, 1777. In May of that year he writes: "I arrived on the River St. John where a number of Indians were collected. We soon had a general meeting composed of deputies from different parts including the whole tribes of St. John and Passamaquoddy. It was agreed and concluded . . . . that they should enjoy the free exercises of religion agreeable to their profession, a clergman of that denomination be furnished and suitable residence be provided for him, on which a place of worship was to be erected." [29] Allan had reason to desire a missionary favorable to the American cause. In his journal he notes:

> July 28th.—In a conversation with Joseph Tomah, I found that the French Priests (advocates for Britain) had debarred the Indians from marrying—would not authorize any father to perform the ceremony, nor yet do it themselves . . . such power and ascendancy have these miscreants over these poor people.

Colonel John Allan reported July 12, 1780:

> On the 30th I set off for Passamaquoddy with Col. Campbell . . . On 31st as we were assembling for a Conference, three Indians arrived express from Mr. Bush, the Priest, desiring them to attend immediately on the business of the Church . . . A Conference held the best of two days, they came to a Determination to see the Priest at all events, but declared their zeal for America, their friendship and affection for me, that they would have no concern with the British whatever; only meant to see the Priest, their Souls being heavy and loaded Burthens of Sins that they acted on a Duty commanded in their Church which they could not neglect . . . I used

[29] *Am. Arch.*, fourth series, III, 1465-1466.

every method in my Power to divert their intentions but all in vain they would go. . . .[30]

The Mr. Bush mentioned above is without doubt M. l'abbé Bourg to whom the English officials looked for aid in holding the natives. On the 8th of April, 1778, the governor of Halifax, Arbuthnot, sent word to the governor-general of Quebec that it would be necessary to influence the Catholic Bishop to send the missionary Bourg to quiet the Indians. Richard Hughes who succeeded Arbuthnot was able to dispatch information to the Secretary of State, dated Oct. 12, that the Malecites, Micmacs, and Indians of Miramichi had signed a treaty of peace and friendship with the English and had returned to Fort Howe under the English flag. He acknowledged his indebtedness to M. Franklin, Major Studholme and to M. Bourg, "le prêtre auquel nous devons le succès de ce traité. . . ." [31]

It is hard to understand why some Catholic writers should be so enthusiastic over the change of heart of the Massachusetts Puritans: "Fifty years had wrought its changes; and the same body that offered a reward for the scalp of a Jesuit missionary (Father Rale) on the Kennebec and finally compassed his death, was now anxious to give them a Catholic priest." They were anxious rather to win the support of the Indians in the struggle with England. A Memorial from Conway, Frysburgh, and Bromfield, July 7, 1776, presents forcefully their fear of the Indians on the Androscoggin: "our settlements lie greatly exposed." There was danger that in following the natural communications these habitations would fall victims to an invading enemy.[32] The Committee of Correspondence for the Inspection and Safety of Union River presented a petition "in behalf of ourselves and our constituents sheweth that we lay very much exposed to the Indians. If they take up arms against us . . . our circumstances will be shocking indeed." [33] That it was not change of heart that urged the men of Massachusetts to promise compliance with the demands

[30] *Am. Cath. Hist. Res.*, XXV, 214 (1908).
[31] A. Melançon, *Vie de l'abbé Bourg*, 99 (Rimouski, 1921).
[32] *Am. Arch.*, fifth series, I (1776), 111.
[33] *Ibid.*, I, 1349.

of the Maine Indians for a priest is plain from an address written by Samuel Adams and sent by the Provincial Council of Massachusetts to Rev. Mr. Kirkland, the minister of the Church of England; it was an appeal to the Mohawk and Oneida Indians. "Brother they have made a law to establish the religion of the Pope in Canada which lies so near to you. We much fear that some of your children may be induced instead of worshiping the only true God, to pay his dues to images made by their own hands." [34]

Just how or when the Indians turned to the French allies for a priest is not clear. Martin I. J. Griffin says that it was through the instrumentality of Colonel Allan that Father de la Motte was sent to the Passamaquoddy.[35] A letter from Holker, Agent and Consul of France, Boston, November 17, 1778, is addressed to Ambroise St. Aubin, Noë Pré, Nicholas Hawawas, and other savages of the river St. Jean. "My Brethren believe me to be much grieved at not being able to send you a priest; but console yourself with the fact that I have written to the King and have begged one of him as well of Mr. Gerard his Minister Plenipotentiary at the Congress. I have no doubt but that the King will send you one, he loves you too much to refuse this." [36]

In May, 1779, Reverend Henry de la Motte, an Augustinian priests and a chaplain in the French navy, writes to the Passamaquoddy as follows:

> My children:
>
> Knowing that for a long time you have desired and have sighed most earnestly for a priest to instruct you in the affairs of your eternal salvation and to direct you in the way of the Lord: I cannot my children but applaud your pious sentiments . . . Our common father, the King of France, always interested in your welfare in order to convince you and to give you an unmistakable evidence of the sincere friendship which he has always manifested towards you . . . sends me my children to you with the permission of the United States of America. . . .[37]

[34] *Mass. Council Records*, Aug. 6, 1776.

[35] *Am. Cath. Hist. Res.*, IV, 210 (1908).

[36] *Ibid.*, 215.

[37] Griffin in the *Researches* of 1908 says that Father De la Motte was on a French vessel captured by the British and brought to New York. He

A letter from de Valnais, the French Consul at Boston, written on the twenty-third of the following August, expresses grief that the Indians, contrary to the advice of Colonel Allan, had met the priest on the St. Jean River.

He promises to overlook their conduct for this once and commends their prudence in retiring to Lake Passamaquoddy; this brings them into closer contact with the Americans. Again he promises them in the name of the King of France one who will minister to them; it must have been one of the naval chaplains from the words: "His stay among you will be short, because those with whom he came need him also, but their affection for you made them decide to send this Reverend Father to you." [38]

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was imprisoned for saying Mass contrary to English regulations. A copy of the letter quoted above is in the Riggs Library, Georgetown.

[38] *Am. Cath. Hist. Res.*, IV, 218 f. (1908).

CHAPTER VIII.

The Catholic Indians of Maine (1763-1820).

After the colonists had become a nation, and the Federal government had taken over the control of Indian affairs, a distinction developed between the tribes located within the thirteen original states and those situated on the frontier of 1789 or west of it. Chief Justice Marshall in 1832 made the statement that "the treaties and laws of the United States contemplate the Indian territory as completely separated from that of the States and provide that all intercourse with them shall be carried on exclusively by the government of the Union."[1] But this idea must have been of gradual development for it is very evident from the following words in a letter of President Washington to Bishop Carroll in 1792 that he was not certain of the respective claims of state and nation to jurisdiction over the natives:

> . . . and those who dwell on the eastern extremity of the United States are, according to the best information I can obtain, so situated as to be rather considered a part of the inhabitants of the State of Massachusetts than otherwise, and that State has always considered them under its immediate care and protection.[2]

Congress has never attempted to legislate or make treaties for the Indians of Maine. In a case tried in 1850 the ruling of the court was that all of the Indians of Maine or Massachusetts have always been considered both by those States and by the nation as bound by the laws of the State.[3]

In August 1784, General Knox and General Benjamin Lincoln were appointed to treat with the Penobscot Indians in order to induce them to relinquish the lands from the head of the tide forty miles up the river. To the speech, Orono made the following reply:

[1] Worcester *vs.* Georgia, 6 Peters 557 (1832), quoted by L. Schmeckebier, *The Office of Indian Affairs*, 6.

[2] Vide infra, 137.

[3] Moore *vs. Veasie*, 32 Maine 366 (1850), quoted in Schmeckebier, *op. cit.*, 6.

> We are concerned about the agreement what was made at the first of the war with General Warren at Watertown. The General desired that we would not suffer any person to come on our land. The Almighty placed us on the land and it is ours. The General said that no person should interfere and take any of our lands but that we should have them. Now why should they have them. . . . The General Court fixed the bound at the head of the river. The English will come on us from before and you on the other side so that we shall have but little left . . . when we tell any of the people who come upon our lands that they encroach upon us, they laugh at us and tell us it is the General Courts.[4]

A commission consisting of Benjamin Lincoln, Thomas Rice, and Rufus Putnam was appointed to treat with the Penobscot Indians respecting their lands on the Penobscot river. The following agreement was reached: the Indians were to relinquish all claims to the land on the west side of the river for the distance of forty-three miles above the head of the tide. They reserved for themselves however the Island upon which Indian Oldtown stands as well as several other small islands all lying about ten miles above the tide. It was guaranteed to them that all the land on both sides above the points specified in the treaty "should lye as hunting grounds for the Indians and should not be laid out or settled by the state or engrossed by individuals thereof." Presents of blankets, powder, shot, and flints were to accompany the treaty. The act confirming the agreement was passed October 11, 1786.[5]

An arrangement was made with the Passamaquoddies through a Committee appointed by the General Court of Massachusetts the twenty-six of June, 1794, which Committee consisted of Colonel John Allan, Alexander Campbell, and George Stillman. The Commonwealth set apart a reservation of land near the Schoodic river and lake, also ten acres of land at Pleasant Point.[6]

Another treaty was signed between the Commonwealth of Massachusetts and the Penobscot tribe June 29, 1818. The Indians

[4] *N. E. Gen. Soc.*, 17, 119, Knox Mss.

[5] *Acts and Laws of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts*, Chap. I, 487-8.

[6] First printed in *Resolves of the General Court of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts* (Boston, 1794); also in *Resolves passed by the Twenty-third Legislature of the State of Maine* (Augusta, 1843).

yielded all save four townships of six square miles each together with the islands of the Penobscot river above Oldtown, including that island. Other articles provided for "a discreet man of good moral character and industrious habits, to instruct them in the arts of industry, and to assist them in fencing and tilling their grounds, and raising such articles of production as their lands are suited for, and as will be most beneficial for them, and will erect a store on the Island of Oldtown . . . in which to deposit their yearly supplies and will now make the necessary repairs on their Church." Then follows a long list of articles which will be delivered to the Indians in quarterly allotments.[7] The Act of Separation of June 19, 1819, provides in the fifth clause that the new State "assume and perform all the duties and obligations of this Commonwealth towards the Indians within said District of Maine whether the same arise from treaties or otherwise." [8] As a consequence of this clause, the treaty between the Penobscots and the State of Maine (August 17, 1820) superceded that which existed between the same tribe and the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.[9]

Just when did the Maine Indians learn to look from France to America; when from the civil to the ecclesiastical authority? Bishop Plessis tells in his Journal that when they applied to Bishop Hubert of Quebec they received from that prelate the response that they were now "under the jurisdiction of P. Carroll, ex-jesuit, named perfect-apostolic of the United States." John Gilmary Shea described the solemn deputation sent to Bishop Carroll, but Martin I. J. Griffin discredited the story. "The statement that 'a deputation was sent to request a missionary' appears in numbers of recitals by Catholic writers. Perhaps it originated with the unreliable Brasseur de Bourbourg in his *Histoire du Canada,* tome II, 84.... As the documents now published for the first time show no deputation was sent." [10] But if the account given by Bishop Plessis can be credited, Shea, Vetromile and de Bourbourg were correct. The *Journal* was written in 1815 and 1816

[7] *Resolves Twenty-third Legislature of the State of Maine,* 253-255.

[8] *Laws of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts* (Boston, 1822), 248.

[9] *Resolves of the Nineteenth Legislature of the State of Maine* (Augusta, 1839), 168-171.

[10] *Am. Cath. Hist. Res.,* XVI, 118.

but was not published until 1903. In it the Bishop tells that after the erection of the Bishopric of Baltimore in 1790 and following the return of Bishop Carroll in 1791, the Indians lost no time in sending that same year a deputation from the three villages on the rivers St. Croix, Penobscot, and the St. Jean. He adds they did not stop to consider that these last were British subjects and belonged to the diocese of Quebec. He continues: "Les deputes étaient chargés d'une lettre signé des chefs de ces trois cantons écrite en anglais, par quelque main étrangère, et datée du 17 mai 1791." After reciting their need of spiritual guidance they end: "Nous te prions, Père de l'Eglise de cette terre, de nous envoyer un prêtre; nous l'attendons avec un coeur inquiet, espérant que tu nous répondras favorablement." [11] Colonel John Allan's letter mentioning the same incident does not state whether the petition was carried by a deputation or sent by messenger. He evidently was the scribe for he says: "The speech is as literally and accurately translated as the two languages will admit; if anything appears deficient or presumptive in the mode, you'll please excuse as well as any irregularity in my address. . . ." [12] In this Allan asks permission to build a chapel for them either on land which he himself will give them or on that which he will obtain from the government. He speaks of having written twice to Mr. Thayer on the matter. The Address of the Indians gives rise to some interesting inquiries. They speak of having made application to the "Fathers of the Church in Massachusetts." Is the reference here to Father Thayer to whom Allan had applied? "We have been told that numbers of trading men have been trying to get a priest for us, but as we know that they have nothing else on view but what concerns trade we fear they may encourage *some person who is not qualified which has been done already.*" What is the allusion here? Did the Bishop understand the reference or is he giving a general warning in his response: "You have done very well not to receive among you those ministers who go without being called, or sent by the authority which Jesus Christ has

[11] Joseph-Octave Plessis, *Journal des Visites Pastorales de 1815-1816* (ed. Henri Têtu, Quebec, 1903), 137.

[12] Letter of John Allan to Bishop Carroll, Passamaquoddy, May 21, 1791, Archives, Balt. Adm. Carroll.

established for the government of His Church." [13] Two episodes had occurred which may account for the anxiety of the Indians and the warning of the prelate. Bishop Plessis tells in his journal that the Indians in their eagerness to secure a resident missionary were frequently deceived by adventurers who obtained their confidence and then defrauded them. A certain lay brother, Juniper by name, who had fled from a Recollect monastery in Montreal, arrived at one of the Indian villages on the Penobscot. Here he represented himself as a missionary and for more than a year and a half, he pretended to celebrate Mass, without chapel, altar, or any of the necessary articles. He called together his native congregation and said that they must secure the proper fittings and vessels. He himself would journey to Boston to make the purchases if they would entrust him with all the furs with which to carry on their trade. He left in their keeping two heavy chests which they were to open should any thing happen to him. He never returned and the chests contained nothing of worth.[14]

The other incident which Bishop Carroll may have had in mind when issuing his warning to the Indians was the case of the Protestant missionary Daniel Little. This gentleman was upon the Penobscot in 1770, 1774, and 1786. In the year last mentioned he was employed to make a missionary tour among the Penobscot Indians in order to instruct them in the Christian religion. In his journal for September 1, 1788, is the item: "At a place called Rumfeekhungus, formed a number of children this day into a school. Called in some Indians that passed by to see the manners of the school and the mode of reading and writing which seemed to be followed." Godfrey, commenting on this, says that the minister experienced difficulty because he had no knowledge of the language and "in addition a French priest, Rutheven (?), who controlled the Indians, interfered. It was not for the interest of the Roman Catholics to have the Indians taught by Protestants." On the fifth of September Little left the school and departed from the Penobscot. Later he was appointed agent to arrange a treaty with these Indians, in which matter he was not successful. He wrote three letters: the first addressed to Governor John Hancock,

[13] Originals in the Archives at Baltimore, Case 1, Adm. Carroll.

[14] Bishop Plessis, *Visites Pastorales* (ed. by Têtu), 136 f.

in which he accepts the appointment as Commissioner to the tribe; the second to Major Robert Treat on the Penobscot River; and the third to "Brothers and Chief Fathers of the Penobscot Tribe." The last letter is marked "For Orono, Senior Sachem of the Penobscot Tribe." [15]

The following year Allan wrote again to inform the Bishop that the Indians, although they had put themselves under the protection of Baltimore, had received some minister apparently not authorized by the American bishop. Allan said that he had inquired of Mr. Thayer whether there was any possibility of securing a priest from France. He had received the reply that it was improbable but in the event of the Indians making a formal petition, Mr. Thayer himself would go to them. Meantime a priest had arrived among the Passamaquoddy. Allan speaks of this M. Rousselet as a man of "insinuating address." Thayer refused to go however unless this man should be sent away. L'abbé Tanguay does not mention this Père Rousselet in his list of French clergy although there is at least one letter from him to the Bishop of Quebec at this period.[16] Bishop Carroll, judging from the following letter, must have considered him under the Baltimore jurisdiction. "Mr. Thayer gives me much trouble. I will not say that he is alone in his fault; perhaps I may find his opponent a French priest named Rousselet as much or more so. But Thayer began to write against him in the papers and some of his friends have answered. I have written to both of them to desist from their scandalous publications under pain of suspension." [17]

Bishop Carroll applied to M. Emery, Superior of the Sulpicians in France, with the result that in the following year M. Ciquard arrived for the mission. In the letter which acquaints the Indians of his coming, the Bishop writes: "It was not possible to obtain one as soon as I desired. . . . At length through the goodness of our best Father, God Himself, I have procured and send you one

[15] *Bangor Hist. Mag.*, V, 59.

[16] L. de Rousselet to Bishop Hubert, Jan. 2, 1790. Archives of Archbishopric of Quebec.

[17] Bishop Carroll to Plowden, Whitemarsh, Feb. 3, 1791. Stonyhurst Archives (transcript), Georgetown Archives, 65.

who will carry you this letter. . . . He will not be afraid but will partake with yourselves of all Hardships. He seeks no reward from you but the Salvation of your souls. . . ." [18]

François Rousset Ciquard was born at Vic-le-Comte, France, August 29, 1754. He was ordained priest in 1779 and in 1782 entered the Seminary of St. Sulpice, Paris. In the following year he set out for the Canadian missions and arrived in Quebec, May 22, 1783. His attempt to reach the Seminary at Montreal was unsuccessful, for he was seized by order of Governor Haldimand and taken back to Quebec, there to await deportation. He escaped and returned to Montreal, only to be recaptured and sent prisoner to England. Here he was liberated and made his way to Paris. In 1791 he was sent by his Superior to the United States in response to Bishop Carroll's request. The latter wrote: "I expect to meet at my return to Baltimore, the Emigrants of St. Sulpice. A vessel arrived at this port from St. Malo gives me room to believe that these gentlemen must be arrived." [19] He labored among the Penobscots of Maine and among the Abenaki of New Brunswick, but found much difficulty because of his lack of knowledge of the language. Having no means of support he was frequently in need of the barest necessities. In May, 1794, he left the Maine mission and went to Fredericktown on the St. Jean, but four years later returned to the States. He went first to Boston and later to Detroit. It was in this year that he secured his *exeat* for the Diocese of Baltimore.[20] He was on the St. Jean in 1803, and shortly after established a mission on the river Memramcouck where he remained until 1812. For the three succeeding years he was Indian missionary at St. François. The last years of his life he spent at St. Sulpice, Montreal, where he died September 28, 1824, at the age of 70.[21] He has left two manuscripts, memoirs de M. François Rousset Ciquard and a manual of prayers in the

[18] Original in archives at Baltimore, Case I, Adm., Carrol.

[19] Bishop Carrol to Plowden, Boston, June 11, 1791. Stonyhurst Archives (transcript) G. U. 65.

[20] To the Abbé François Ciquard, missionary, Exeat for the diocese of Baltimore, May 30, 1798, Archives of the Archbishopric, Quebec.

[21] L'abbé C. Tanguay, *Répertoire Général du Clergé Canadien.*

Abenaki and French. There is also a printed volume, *Portrait d'un Missionnaire Apostolique.*

A letter from President Washington to Bishop Carroll with regard to the latter's request for "government assistance" for the Indians is printed in Sparks' *Writings of Washington* and in the later Ford collection:

Philadelphia, 10 April, 1792.

Sir:—I have received and duly considered your memorial of the 20th ultimo, on the subject of instructing the Indians, within and contiguous to the United States in the principles and duties of Christianity.

The war now existing between the United States and some tribes of the western Indians prevents for the present, any interference of this nature with them. The Indians of the Five Nations are, in their religious concerns, under immediate superintendence of the Reverend Mr. Kirkland; and those who dwell on the eastern extremity of the United States, are according to the best information I can obtain, so situated as to be rather considered a part of the inhabitants of the State of Massachusetts than otherwise, and that state has always considered them as under its immediate care and protection. Any application therefore, relative to these Indians, for the purpose mentioned in your memorial, would seem most proper to be made to the government of Massachusetts. The original letters on this subject, which were submitted to my inspection, have been returned to Mr. Charles Carroll.

Impressed as I am with an opinion that the most effectual means of securing the permanent attachment of our savage neighbours is to convince them that we are just, and to show them that a proper and friendly intercourse with us would be for our mutual advantage, I cannot conclude without giving you my thanks for your pious and benevolent wishes to effect this desirable end, upon the mild principles of religion and philanthrophy.

And, when a proper occasion shall offer, I have no doubt but such measures will be pursued as may seem best calculated to communicate liberal instruction, and the blessings of Society, to their untutored minds. With very great esteem and regard, I am &c.[22]

[22] *The Writings of George Washington,* Collected and Edited by Worthington Chauncey Ford, XII, 257.

Father Lambing in the *Catholic Historical Researches,* July 1885, refers to the memorial of Bishop Carroll mentioned in the above letter. Four years later Martin I. J. Griffin speaks of search having been made among Washington's Papers in the State Department and in the Government archives without finding it. The present writer made a thorough search in the Manuscripts Division of the Library of Congress where the Washington papers are now deposited, with no better success, nor did the papers of Charles Carroll of Carrollton furnish any traces of the missing memorial. The above letter states distinctly "the original letters on this subject which were submitted to my inspection have been returned to Mr. Charles Carroll." A few months after the above was written the President wrote another letter which may perhaps throw further light upon the matter. This letter, dated 23 Jan. 1793, places before Carroll the need of appointing a Commission to treat with the Indians and insists that it is "necessary that characters be appointed who are known to our citizens for their talents and integrity and whose situation in life places them clear of every suspicion of a wish to prolong the war (Indian); or say rather whose interest in common with that of their country is clearly to produce peace . . . ; characters uniting these desiderata do not abound. . . ." [23]

When Reverend John Cheverus visited the Maine Indians in 1797 he wrote to the Bishop from the Passamaquoddy village at Pleasant Point. He described the church and priest's house, and expressed amazement that the Mass for the Dead is sung in exactly the same tune as is customary among French Catholics, with the correct singing of the Kyrie and the responses at the Preface. Some of the remarks are inexplicable, such as "You will see that I have no more occasion to go to the Penobscot Indians and perhaps you will be sorry for my having come here at all." In the same letter occurs "Mr. Ciquart's letters have been very useful to me. The Indian who brought them from Penobscot told me he had given Communion to almost all of them but I have no doubt he tells me a falsehood." A few days later he writes to the Reverend Dr. Matignon: "Mr. Allan will have it in spite of everything

[23] *The Writings of Washington,* Edited by Jared Sparks, X, 228.

I said that Mr. Ciquart has planned his going over to the English six months before he went off. He is sorry Mr. Ciquart did go to Penobscott and wished me to go from here. However I made him sensible that I could not do it with any kind of propriety. . . ." In this same letter he speaks of the attempt which the Indians made to secure from the Court the means of supporting a priest. "The Indians will do anything we wish, Mr. Allan and myself, in order to get a Priest. Mr. Allan thinks they must confine themselves to make the general court a forcible application, without pointing out any particular mode of supporting their pastor and leave it to him and to us that part of the business. I hope he will succeed and should the bishop think it proper I would be happy myself to be appointed to this mission." From Old Town, Penobscot in the following June he writes: "The Indians here (at Penobscot) would be very glad to have a priest but they seem persuaded that the Gen. Court has cheated them out of their lands and that nothing can be obtained now from Government. May these of Passam. succeed." The outcome of the negotiation was that the General Court of Massachusetts in the year 1798 appropriated the sum of $200 annually for an Indian missionary who should live alternately at Passamaquoddy and Penobscot.[24] Bishop Plessis, referring some years later to the relations between the Commonwealth of Massachusetts and the Indians, wrote: "il fallait donner à leur missionaires quelque moyen de subsister. Une somme de 350 piastre fut votée pour cet objet et est payée tres regulièrement chacque année à M. Romagné."[25]

Father Matignon must himself have paid a visit to these Indians at some time. Whether it was before or after that of M. Cheverus cannot be stated since the letter is without date. There is mention of "your Father M. Ciquart" from whom an answer was expected; hence it seems this visit antedated that of Cheverus; while on the other hand the letters of the latter do not give the impression of having been written to one who was acquainted with the scenes described. The missive is addressed to the Indians of the Passamaquoddy who are told to "communicate this letter to your

[24] *Am. Cath. Hist. Res.*, XXIII, n. s., II, 125-133 (1906). Originals in the Archives of Baltimore.

[25] *Journal des Visites Pastorales*, 142.

brethren of Penobscot." He says that he shall begin either with one or the other according to his finding a vessel to one or the other place.

The Oneida Indians were always French in their sympathies and Catholic in their religious tendencies. The former characteristic was openly recognized. General Washington, writing from Morrison to the President of the Continental Congress, 29 March, 1777, says: "Mr. Kirkland, the Oneida missionary, arrived here with a chief warrior and five other Indians of that nation. . . . Being told that France was assisting us and about to join in the war, they seemed highly pleased, and Mr. Kirkland said that he was persuaded that it would have considerable effect on the minds of several of the nations, and secure to us their neutrality if not a declaration and commencement of hostilities in our favor. . . ." [26]

They always associated with the French Catholic Indians. An address of the Chevalier La Luzerne of 17, September 1781, begins: "Frères, sachems, et guerrièrs des Oneidas, tuscaroras et Cachuawagnes, Ouvrés vos oreilles et ecoutes ce que j'ai a vous dire, comme le representant de vôtre ami et père le Roy de france." [27] No form of Protestantism took firm hold on these Indians either because of a lack of interest on the part of missionaries or want of coöperation on that of the neophytes. An act passed May 5, 1786, appropriated in trust to the use of Samuel Kirkland, missionary to the Oneida Indians, a lot of land containing three hundred and twenty acres on the former Oneida reservation. By two later acts (April 11, 1808 and April 10, 1813) the Northern Missionary Society was authorized to lease the lot above mentioned; a few years later the Oneida Indians were petitioning that "the Northern Missionary Society have no person at present preaching among said Indians nor are the said society doing anything to promote their knowledge in the principles of religion and morality. . . ." [28]

In spite of the fact that the Indians of Maine were the Catholic Indians of New England, there seems to have been no move made

[26] *The Writings of Washington*, Ford, ed.

[27] *Arch. Aff. Etr. E. U.*, 18: 93. 17 Sept., 1781.

[28] *Laws of the Colonial and State Governments Relating to Indian Affairs*, Washington, 1832.

to influence them or to enlist their coöperation when the *Oneida Primacy* was under consideration. Only one contact between the two tribes is recorded. This was an encounter which took place in Boston in 1777. Two memorials for the same date in the Council of Massachusetts indicate the presence of both Penobscots and Oneidas. It is frequently asserted that the latter tribe became thoroughly Christianized under Protestant influence but the facts do not warrant this conclusion. Dr. Guilday has pointed this out in the following paragraph:

> But if we are to accept the statements of Kirkland and those related about the lost Dauphin . . . it is strange to find a body so thoroughly Presbyterian as these missionaries describe the Oneidas writing that they were entirely Catholic, that they had obtained the departure of the Anglican and Presbyterian ministers in April 1789 and that they had made arrangements to have two priests from Canada take charge of divine worship. . . .[29]

It is to a visit paid to these same Oneida Indians that we owe the following account of the Indians of Maine. Dr. Jeremy Belknap in company with Dr. Morse set out in the early summer of 1796 to visit the Oneida Indians. The information gleaned concerning the northern Indians he sets down in his *Journal* as follows:

> Captain Holland has been a surveyor of Eastern lands and is well acquainted with the country and tribe of Penobscots. He says the Indians there amount to three hundred and thirty in number. He has an exact list of the names of each family and they average four and a half to a family. They are careful lest they should diminish in number as other tribes. They are frequently obliged to delay marriage long for want of a priest and in some instances travel as far as Quebec to be married yet there are scarcely any instances of incontinency and no illegitimate children. As they have been above a century converted to the popish religion, they are much attached

[29] Peter Guilday, *Life and Times of John Carroll* (New York, 1922), 409. The Peter Penet Plan mentioned by Dr. Guilday and cited from Shea is now accessible in the Mss. Div. Lib Cong. The title of the document is "Piece relative aux Oneidas Nations Sauvage faisant partie de l'association de l'Iroquois 1788-1789." Paris, Aff. Etr. Mem. et Doc. 3 (photostat, 1928), Lib. Cong. See "Two Remarkable Projects (1790)," in Guilday, *Carroll*, I, 392-419.

> to its ceremonies. They have a church at one of their towns in which is a vessel of holy water. The church is kept shut except when any priest comes among them; but there is a hole through which a person can put his hand and dip it in the water. He was once passing the church in company with an Indian who insisted on going ashore that he might cross himself with Holy Water and then re-embarked and proceeded on the voyage. They are strict observers of the Sabbath, and will not travel by land or water on that day but in cases of necessity.

After his elevation to the see of Boston, Bishop Cheverus sent to Maine the Reverend Mr. Romagné who ministered to the Penobscots and Passamaquoddies for twenty years. He probably went there in the summer of 1799 for a letter from Passamaquoddy to Bishop Carroll shows him well established there by the winter of 1800.[30] Governor Lincoln of Maine wrote of the missionary: "For about twenty years and until a few past M. Romagné was the person by whom the functions of the clerical character have been performed among the Penobscots and the Passamaquoddies. He became acquainted with their language so as to be able to converse in it, and the affectionate remembrance in which he is held by them is proof of the discreet manner in which he conducted himself towards them. He is spoken of as having been a faithful missionary and a man of unspotted life."[31] In September, 1816, when the integrity of one of the tribes was threatened as the result of a bitter contest for the election of a chief, all was finally settled through the influence of Père Romagné.

Confirmation was administered by the prelate of Quebec or of Boston as was most convenient. Bishop Plessis appointed the Bishop of Boston his Vicar-General and asked a like appointment for himself, since it might be necessary for each upon occasion to officiate within the diocese of the other. This action was taken to care for any difficulties arising because of the uncertainty or lack of jurisdiction. "I have requested," he writes, "Monseigneur the Archbishop to be so kind as to acquaint me with the divisions of

[30] Father Romagné to Bishop Carroll, Jan. 25, 1800.

[31] Governor Lincoln's Mss. Papers, Me. Hist. Soc. *Coll.*, First Series, I (1831).

the new diocese so as to know those bordering on mine. . . . I have no doubt your diocese and mine are coterminous in the direction of New Brunswick and apparently in several other places, I take the liberty to send you the letters of a Vicar-general."

The response to this letter which accompanied the document giving the required faculties contains a reference to the newly appointed Indian missionary and also defines the boundaries:

Boston, this 20th January 1811.

> I received with respect and gratitude the faculties you were kind enough to communicate to me. I have already made use of them to M. Romagné, a respectable priest who is here with the Indians at Passamaquoddy, in the frontier of the United States and New Brunswick.
>
> My diocese touches yours East by the district of Maine towards the frontier of New Brunswick, North by the State of Vermont, and in the Northwest by the district of Maine on the frontier of Canada.

Bishop Cheverus writes to Bishop Plessis June 19, 1815:

> M. Matignon is very weak and I have only one other priest, a few miles from here, whom his infirmities and other occupations prevent from being of any help to me. I am consequently tied to Boston, and I have recourse to your charity and I beseech you if you can do so, without any inconvenience to give confirmation on your passage to the Indian tribes at Pleasant Point, Passamaquoddy. I am writing to their respectable Missionary, M. Romagné, to apply to Your Lordship. I had promised to go to Passamaquoddy for the Assumption. . . . M. Romagné will go or send to St. Johns to receive your orders and will prepare his flock for the time your Lordship shall appoint. You will find him a pious and amiable man; we have been friends from childhood. . . .[32]

It is interesting to compare the two following accounts written by contemporaries. The one manifests a sympathetic understanding of the savage and his problems and an appreciation of what the French missionary had been able to accomplish in spite of the difficulties under which he had to labor. The other depicts the

[32] *Am. Cath. Hist. Res.*, XXIX (1912). Original in the Archiepiscopal Archives in Quebec.

typical New England attitude towards an inferior race. In May, 1791, Colonel John Allan wrote to Bishop Carroll:

> From a long acquaintance with this people and having command of them during the late war between America and Britain, I am in some degree knowing their sentiments and disposition respecting their religious tenets: they are a very exemplary people (consistent with their customs and manners) as are to be met with—zealous and Tenacious of the rites of the church and strictly moral, cautious of misbehaving in point of religion, even to be observed when intoxicated. I have been surprised so little notice has been taken of them in this respect, tho' rude and uncultivated in many other matters, they are truly civilized in this, and it was always observed by the French Gentlemen of the Clergy, which we were favored with during the war that they never saw a more respectable collection in France, and excepting the Cathedral and some particular places of worship, their performances, chants in latin, etc. were in most instances superior to any.—I have been charmed with them, when shut up in the woods, & tho' of a different sentiment, believe them to be truly Christian, meriting the peculiar blessings of the deity—they teach their children when able to lisp a word, the service, and as they grow up become in a manner innate, this owing to the assiduity of the French missionaries—much to their honor.[33]

The second estimate of these same tribes was written a few years later (1804) by the Honorable James Sullivan:

> There were various tribes within what is now the District of Maine but none of them exist at the Present day besides the Penobscot Indians and the small tribe of about one hundred and thirty persons who live on the bank of the Passamaquoddy river from which they have their name. Their being on the line which separates the United States from the province of New Brunswick reside in the summer within that province remote from the sea and employ themselves in hunting and taking small fish: but in the winter reside on the shores of the river near the sea, and within the State of Massachusetts where they lead a wretched beggarly life; feeding on clams and other shell-fish, enduring the most severe distress of hunger and cold.

[33] Allan to Bishop Carroll, May 21, 1791. Baltimore Archives, Case 5-A3, printed in *Am. Cath. Hist. Res.*, XVI, 113 (1899).

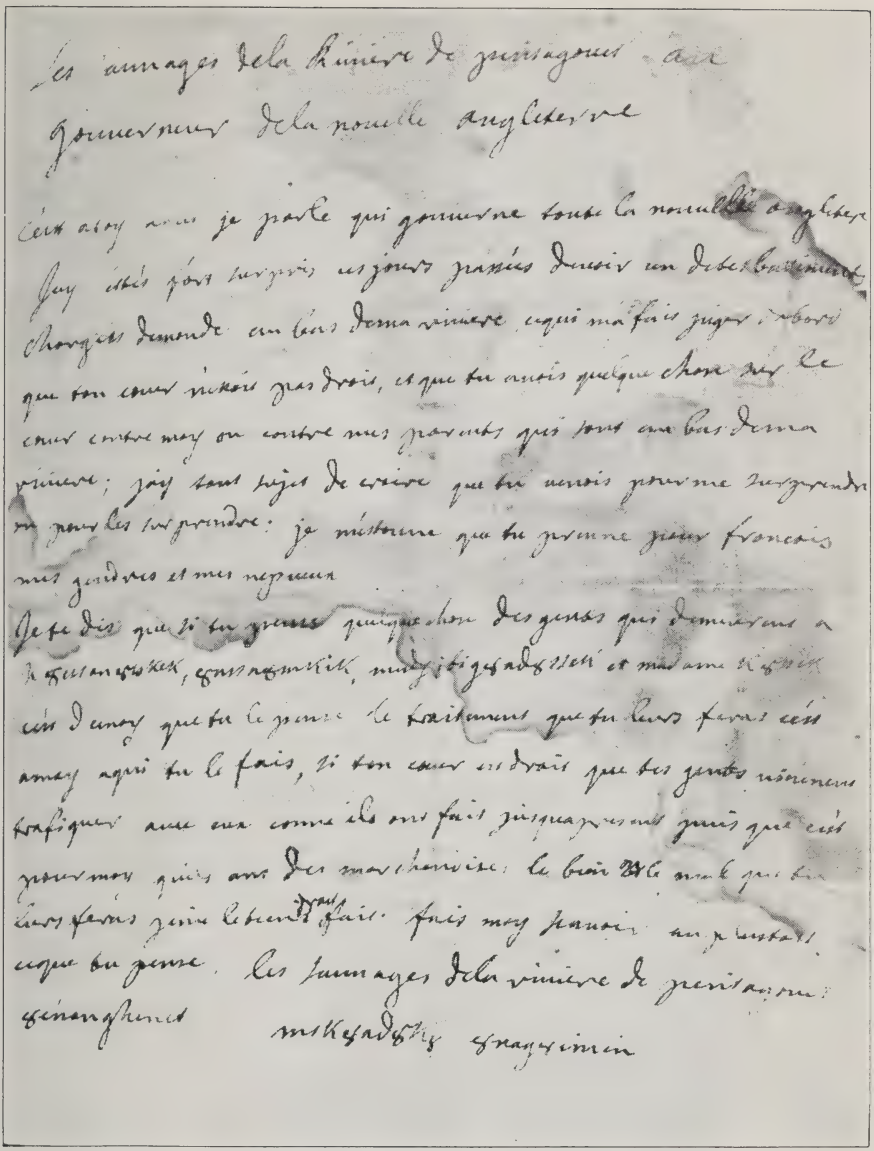
> The country on the river has been settled since the revolution as high as the falls; and some towns above. The government has assigned a quantity of land about nine miles square and some way above the falls on the west side of the river, for the Indians.
>
> There they now reside in full preservation of their native habits. . . . Their food consists of a very little Indian corn pumpkin, squashes, which they produce by the labor of their women on light and easy land. The country is now too much settled to afford any considerable support from game. . . . The men will beg, they seldom steal, but they scorn to labor. . . .
>
> The attempts to civilize these people have been attended with not much more success than those which have been made to christianize them. They say that the religion of the Congregationalists is too simple for them and they are in some measure attached to the Roman Catholic religion, on account of its being more ceremonious, repeating their prayers and crossing themselves at morning and evening. They treat the Roman Catholic priests with great respect, and have children baptized. They have no doubt of the power of the priests to pardon their sins and are cheerfully willing to pay the utmost of their ability for so great and necessary an accommodation.[34]

This somewhat disparaging estimate would lead to the inference that the years of self-sacrificing labor on the part of the early missionaries had borne scant fruit. The degree of Christianity and civilization attained would seem to be not commensurate with the efforts employed. But do the facts warrant this conclusion? When Maine entered upon the dignity of her statehood in 1820, no Indian problem presented itself for solution; nor can this happy state of affairs be accounted for on the basis of the just dealings of the whites with the natives. Timber lands, hunting grounds, fishing coves,—all had passed out of the hands of the original owners; four townships alone remained, and these would presently (1833) be taken over by the State.[35] If the State of Maine occasionally indulges in complacency over her successful handling of

[34] Hon. James Sullivan, "The History of the Penobscot Indians," Mass. Soc. Hist. *Coll.*, first series, IX, 207 (1804).

[35] A sum of fifty thousand dollars was deposited in the State treasury; this sum is paid annually under the direction of the Council and State through the Indian agent for the benefit of the tribe.

the Indian question; if she looks with pride upon a body of four hundred native citizens, peaceable, industrious, law-abiding and loyal; a body electing its own representative to her legislature, can she fail to remember that in the history of these tribes since the first coming of the Europeans, the factor which has exerted the greatest influence is the factor of religion and that the agent who has had the most marked ascendancy is the Catholic missionary?



Les iamages dela Riuiere de penisagoues . aux
gouuerneurs dela nouelle angleterre

Ceux a moy auec je parle qui gouuerne toute la nouuelle angleterre
Jay este pour surgeris ces jours passés deuair un debat entre nous
Chargés demande aux bons dema riuiere, equi ma fais juger, et voyr
que ton coeur nestois pas droit, et que tu auois quelque chose sur le
coeur contre moy ou contre mes parents qui sont aux bors dema
riuiere; jay tout sujet de croire que tu auois pour me surprendre
ou pour les surprendre: je mestonne que tu prenne pour francois
mes freres et mes neueux

Je te dis que si tu prenes quelque chose des gens qui demeurent a
[illegible], gens nommés [illegible], mais je les ay adoptés et mes amis et
ceux damoy que tu le prenes le traitement que tu leurs feras ceux
amoy aqui tu le fais, si ton coeur ne droit pas que les gentes viennent
trafiquer auec eux comme ils ont fait jusqua present mais que ceux
pour moy qui suis des marchandises le bon Dieu veut que tu
leurs feras jeun tres grand fait. fais moy scauoir au plustot
equoy tu penses. Les Iamages dela riuiere de penisagoues
[illegible]

mskegadghs [illegible]

LETTER FROM THE INDIANS ON THE PENOBSCOT TO THE GOVERNOR OF NEW ENGLAND. (Guilday Transcripts).

APPENDIX B.

BISHOP LAVAL'S REPORT ON THE INDIAN MISSIONS, October 27, 1663.

[fol. 37r]

Circa Statum Ecclesiae nascentis inter Algonquinos.

Cum magnus S. Laurentij fluvius hanc nostram Americam fere ex aequo dividat in duas partes: alteram septentrionalem quae mari, quod nobis est septentrionale: alteram vocamus australem, quae mari quod nobis est velut Australe, abluitur. Algonkinos quoque Neophytos et eorum ecclesias, quae per totam hanc Americam nostram sparsae sunt, alios vocamus septentrionales qui scilicet in septentrionali huius Americae parte, et alios vocamus australes qui in australi eius parte versantur; de his postremo, de illio prius dicetur.

Quoad Septentrionales Algonkinos, quia alii sunt superiores et alii inferiores, prius de his et eorum ecclesiis dicendum, tum demum de illis.

Inter Septentrionales Algonquinos Inferiores.

Triplex est Ecclesia, ad quam omnes Inferiores Algonkinos, qui ex tot Neophytorum millibus supersunt, quos vel hostis, vel morbus popularis nobis eripuit, reducimus; eam vero triplicem Ecclesiam construxerunt Patres Societatis Jesu, qui regunt Neophytos Algonquinos.

1a est Beatae Magdalenae Ecclesia, prope confluentiam trium fluminum, 30 leucis ab urbe Quebecensi procul. Haec 450 circiter animas enumerat. Ei praeest unus aut alter e Societate sacerdos.

2a Ecclesia est Sancti Michaelis in oppido Sylleriaunsi, prope urbem Quebecensem [37r] [37v]. Haec 400 animas numerat. Ei praeest unus aut alter e Societate Jesu.

3a Ecclesia est Sanctae Crucis ad portum Tadoucensem, 30 circiter leucis Quebeco distantem. Haec centum circiter animas numerat: ei praeest unus aut alter e Societate Jesu sacerdos, per aestatem. Ad hanc velut ad Matricem spectant aliae minores Ecclesiae quinque, quarum duae sitae sunt inter occidentem et septentrionalem.

1a versus occidentem Ecclesia S. Joannis in lacu eiusdem nominis, Piouakwagamic dicto ab indigenis, 45. circiter leucis a portu Tadoucensi remoto. Haec 130 animas aliquando numerat, aliquando plures, ob advenas qui ad hunc lacum affluunt; ac deinde ad Ecclesiam Tadoucensem. Haec aestate supra ducentas animas numerat; ad hanc excurrit alter sacerdos e Societate Jesu, qui Ecclesiae Tadoucensi praeest.

2a inter septentrionem et orientem; Ecclesia S. Carolj, in lacu Mistassiriniensi, centum circiter leucis ab eodem portu Tadoucensj remoto. Haec 80. circiter animas numerat, praeter advenas plurimos.

3a minor Ecclesia. Est S. Petri ad flumen Piritibisticum ab indigenis dictum, infra portum Tadoucensem 34. circiter leucis situm. Haec inter Papinachienses 300. circiter animas numerat. Ad hanc excurrit unus sacerdos, si ad Ecclesiam S. Crucis de more ire non possint neophyti.

4a minor Ecclesia. Est S. Barnabas in lacu eiusdem nominis, Manikwagan ab indigenis vocato, et ab ora fluvii Sancti Laurentij 60. circiter leucis inter septentrionem et orientem dissito. Haec 80. fere animas numerat, inter Ouchestigoüec, et eorum affines [fol. 37v].

[fol. 38r]

5a minor Ecclesia. Est S. Pauli ad flumen eiusdem nominis, infra portum Tadoucensem 75. circiter leucis remotum, versus > Insulas. Haec 150. animas numerat inter Oüemamenses et Chichouta pirinioüé.

Praeter has Ecclesias tum majores, tum minores duplex est Missio, altera inchoata, altera proxime inchoanda.

1a Missio inchoata ab anno 1661.

Est S. Francisci Xaverii in magno sinu manis septentrionalis, e regione ferè portûs Tadoucensis, a quo 190. circiter leucis distat. Haec eas tantum animas numerat, quae in via ad eam, dum irent Missionarij, baptisatae sunt, 30. scilicet; sed sperat quamplurimas inter multas nationes circumquaque positas, quae ad eum sinum affluunt; praeter alias plures quae oram maris illius ad occasionem et orientem occupant.

2a Missio proxime inchoanda.

Est S. Ludovici, e regione minoris Ecclesiae supradictae, S. Pauli, ab ora maris septentrionalis aliquot tantum dierum itinere remota. Haec multas animas sperat in pluribus pagis, qui recens detecti sunt, Kicheoumamioüec vocantur.

Hactenus de Ecclesiis et missionibus inter Algonkinos inferiores.

Eccclesia inter Algonquinos Superiores, seu versus Occidentem.

Inter hos nullae sunt adhuc Ecclesiae extructae, sed per Missiones vel antiquas, vel novas, eos excoluêre Patres Societatis.

Missiones antiquae duae. 1a est S. Spiritus in Lacu Sorciariorum, Nipissirinj ab indigenis dicto, ab urbe Kebeco ducentis penè leucis remoto. Haec quingentos circiter baptisatos numerat, eos coluit ab anno 1638 unus aut alter sacerdos e Societate Jesu. Longe, plures sperat inter affines multas nationes, ad eum lacum convenientes [fol. 38r].

[fol. 38v]

2.a Missio antiqua. Est S. Michaelis in Lacu Pagwitic ab indigenis dicto, centum circiter leucis a lacu supradicto Sancti Spiritus remoto, versus occidentem. Haec 600. numerat baptisatos, sed maxime infantes; qui eam excolebat sacerdos e Societate, in ea moriens 1661, se numerasse 700. homines scripsit, seu totidem familiarum capita. Cum ad eum amplissimum Lacum affluant multae nationes, quarum aliae 200. familias numerant, alia 500, alia mille, innumeras pene animas sperat.

Missiones novae, seu quae proxime sperantur.

Hae novae Missiones aliae sunt inter Meridiem et Occidentem sitae, respectu Lacûs supradicti S. Michaelis, a quo quinque dierum itinere distant.

1a Nova Missio ad gentem Alinioüec dictam. Haec in 40. pagis numerat viginti mille homines, seu tot familiarum capita.

2a Nova Missio ad gentem Oumamic dictam, versus meridiem. Haec in centum et quinquaginta pagis familias numerat 8000.

3a Nova Missio ad gentem Nadoüichions dictam. Haec in 50. pagis triginta hominum millia numerat.

Aliae novae Missiones inter Superiores Algonkinos, sunt inter occidentem et septentrionem; ex ipsis aliquas attingo.

1a est ad Lacum Alimibeg, a lacu S. Michaelis 40. circiter leucis remotum.

2a ad gentem Assinipoüalac dictam, 50 circiter leucis a lacu Alimibeg, versus oram maris septentrionalis remotam. Haec mille familias numerat.

3a Nova missio ad gentem Kilistinon dictam, 40. circiter leucis a gente supradicta remotum. Haec mille familias numerat [fol 38v].

[fol. 39r]

4a ad gentem Kichekilistinon dictam, 40. leucis a proxime dicta distantem. Haec quinque supra mille familias enumerat.

5a Nova missio ad gentem Alimouspigaj dictam, 40. leucis a proxime dicta distantem.

Hactenus de Ecclesiis et missionibus inter Algonquinos Septentrionales.

Status Ecclesiae inter Algonquinos Australes, seu qui in hujus Americae parte australi versantur.

Cum haec Americae nostrae pars Australis, quae Oceano abluitur et nobis est partim ad Orientem, partim quoque ad meridiem, a

promontorio Gaspé dicto ad Virginiam extendatur. Ejus partes praecipuas attingam, scilicet Acadiam, Novam Angliam, Novum Belgium et Virginiam, ut indicentur tum Ecclesiae, tum Antiquae ac Novae Missiones, quae in singulis reperiuntur inter Algonquinos hos Australes, qui ad oram maris fere degunt.

Inter hos Ecclesiae quoque tres:

1a Miscoviensis, ad sinum Calorum dictum, a promontorio Gaspé non procul. Haec 40. circiter familias numerabat, dum a patribus Societatis, qui eam extruxerant, coleretur; a Patribus Capucinis aliquandiu culta fuit; nunc deserta, proxime venturum sperat e Societate sacerdotem unum aut alterum. Ab hac Ecclesia missiones sperantur, rursus ad nationes adjacentes instituendae.

Missio antiqua 1a in sinu Misamichj et in fluvio Regibouclonio [fol. 39r].

[fol. 39v]

Missio antiqua 2a in insula Britonis.

In Acadiâ in sinu Francico.

2a Ecclesia S. Joannis ad arcem et fluvium eiusdem nominis. Haec a Patribus Capucinis extructa, nunc ab Anglis Haereticis occupata; sed brevi ut speramus vindicanda ab eorum potestate. Ad eam spectat natio Ourakstégouc dicta; centum familias numerat.

3a Ecclesia ad fluvium Pentagoüet dictum, a fluvio S. Joannis 80. circiter leucis remotum. Haec a P. P. Capucinis extructa et culta fuit, nunc ab iisdem Anglis occupata. Ad eam spectat natio Etechémic dicta, 70. familias numerat.

In Nova Anglia.

Missio antiqua Assumptae Virginis ad fluvium Kinébéki dictum, a Pentagoüensj 20. circiter leucis dissitum. Haec 200. familias numerat in iis; supra ducentos baptisatos ab anno 1660.

Multae missiones novae seu proxime inchoandae. Ubi primum harum Ecclesiarum Tyrannus caesus fuerit, Iroquensem dico.

1.a ad fluvium Merameg, 20 circiter leucis a fluvio Kinebeki distantem. Haec inter tres vicinas nationes 400. familias numerat Passagoüanoüet vocantur.

2.a ad Malabarra promontorium, a Kinebeki 70. circiter leucis distans. Haec 900. familias gentis Hasemettouam numerat, prope Novam Pleymout.

3.a Nova missio ad oppidum Provedens, vel Porcellanae dictum, 10. leucis a Malabarrae promontorio distans. Haec in sex oppidis gentis Naraghenses dictae, supra viginti millia hominum numerat.

4.a Nova Missio ad insulam Pecot, decem circiter leucis a Naraghensium natione dissitam. Haec [fol. 39v] [fol. 40r] inter Morehiganj dictos indigenas, 1000. familias numerat.

5.a ad fluvium Sokoüekj ab insula Pecot 15. leucis remotum. Haec inter Pagamptagouc et Sokoüekienses indigenas 800. familias numerat.

In Novo Belgio Missiones Novae Duae.

1.a ad fluvium Manahattensem, 30. circiter leucis a Sokoüekiensi fluvio remotum. Haec inter Mahiganac indigenas 600. familias numerabit.

2.a in insula prope Manahatten, Long-Elen dictam. Haec inter indigenas Apemenagatouc dictos, mille familias numerat.

In Nova Suecia proje Merilandiam Virginiae adjacentem.

Missio novo-antiqua ad gentem magnam Algonkinicâ lingua utentem. Haec a multis Europaeis visa et a patribus e Societate Jesu inter Catholicos Anglos qui versantur in Merilandiâ, excoli dicitur.

Franciscus Petracensis Episcopus [fol. 40r].

Archivio di Propaganda. Lettere (Scritture) Antiche. vol. 256, fol. 37r—fol. 40r.

Fish. Guide to Italian Archives mentions this document on pg. 154 and dates it: October 27, 1663. It is quoted in Anal. O. Capuc. vol. XXXIII, p. 192.

A transcript of the foregoing document is in the possession of the Reverend John Lenhart, O. M. Cap., who likewise furnished the following information: "There is an Italian summary of Bishop Laval's letter (Archiv. di Propagand. Scritture Antiche, vol. 256, Fol. 94r) . . . made by an official of the Propaganda in 1665."

APPENDIX C.

(a) Commission authorizing Père Druillettes to go to the Abenaki.

(b) Letter of Père Loyard, S. J., concerning the building of a Chapel on the St. Jean.

(c) Letter of Cardinal Castelli concerning the ceded countries in America.

(a)

COMMISSION FROM GOVERNOR MONTMAGNY AUTHORIZING PÈRE DRUILLETTES TO GO TO THE ABENAKI.

Charles Huault de Montmagny Chev^er^ de l'ordre Sainct Jean de hierusalem Governeur et Lieutenant général pour le Roy en la nouvelle france, certifiions à tous qu'il appartiendra que le Révérend père Gabriel Drouillet Religieux de la Comp^ie^ de Jésus est party de Quebecq de nostre consentment pour aller au pays des Sauvages abenaquinois et autres lieux circumvoisins pour tacher de donner aux sauvages la connaissance du vray Dieu, selon le desir et volonté de Sa Majesté très Chrétienne et suivant l'Institut de son Ordre. Si prions tous gouverneurs et capitaines des places par où il pourra passer de lui prester toute assistances et confort, le laisser passer et repasser à sa volonté—Faict au Fort Sainct Louis de Quebeq le vingt huict^e^ Aoust mil six cent quarante six.

Par commandement de Monsieu^r^ le Gouverneur.

Copie conformée à l'original conservé aux Archives du Sèminaire de Quebec.

Quebec 18 Sept. 1928.

AMÉDÉE GOSSELIN,
Archiviste.

(b)

LETTER OF PÈRE LOYARD, S. J., CONCERNING THE BUILDING OF A CHAPEL FOR THE INDIANS ON THE ST. JEAN RIVER.

P. Loyard S. J.
A Quebeck de Quebec de 2 aoust 1715.

Monsieur,

Voicy le plan de L'Eglise que j'aurois dessein bâtir dans ma Mission. Je prens la liberté de vous l'adresser ne doutant point que vous ne vous fassiez un plaisir de contriber a cette bonne oeuvre. J'ay eû l'honneur de vous dire, Monsieur, que cet etablissement ne regardoit pas moins le bien de l'etat, que la gloire de Dieu; puisque par la non seulement on fixe l'humeur coureuse des Sauvages, mais qu'on empeche encore les Anglois de s'etablit dans la Riviere St. Jean. Vous sçavez, Monsieur, qu'ils prétendent quoiqu'elle n'ait jamais été compris dans l'Acadie; et comme son embourchure n'est qu'a douze lieues du Port Royal ils ne manqueroient point de s'en venir mettre en possession, si les Sauvages l'abandonnoient. Or le meilleur on pour mieux dire l'unique moyen de les fixer pour toujours dans leur village c'est de leur y bâtir une Eglise. Le Sauvage tout Sauvage qu'il est a dans le fonds de la Religion; et je ne sçais si sans cela il resisteroit a tout ce que L'Anglois mit en usage pour le gagner. Je ne doute pas, Monsieur, qui si la Cour étoit informée de cela, on y trouvât mauvais que je demandasse douze cens livres de France payables dunmoins on deux ans pour executer le plan cy-joint. Jugez en s'il plait vous même et si vous trouvez que la chose soit faisable, faites moy la grace d'appuyer ce que j'ay eu l'honneur de vous dire. J'ose me flatter, Monsieur, que vous voudrez bien joindre cette marque de bonté a toutes celles que vous répandez sans cesse sur nos Pères qui sont dans les Missions, et dont vous me comblez en mon particulier. Je suis avec un tres profond respect.

Monsieur
Votre très humble et très obeissant Serviteur
I. Loyard De la Comp^ie^ de Jesus
Missionnaire de la Rivière St. Jean.

A Quebec 29 aoust 1715.

Plan de L'èglise proposée pour la mission des Abenakis à la Rivière St. Jean.

Georgetown University Archives, 28 : 2.

(c)

The ceded countries in America
9 July 1763.

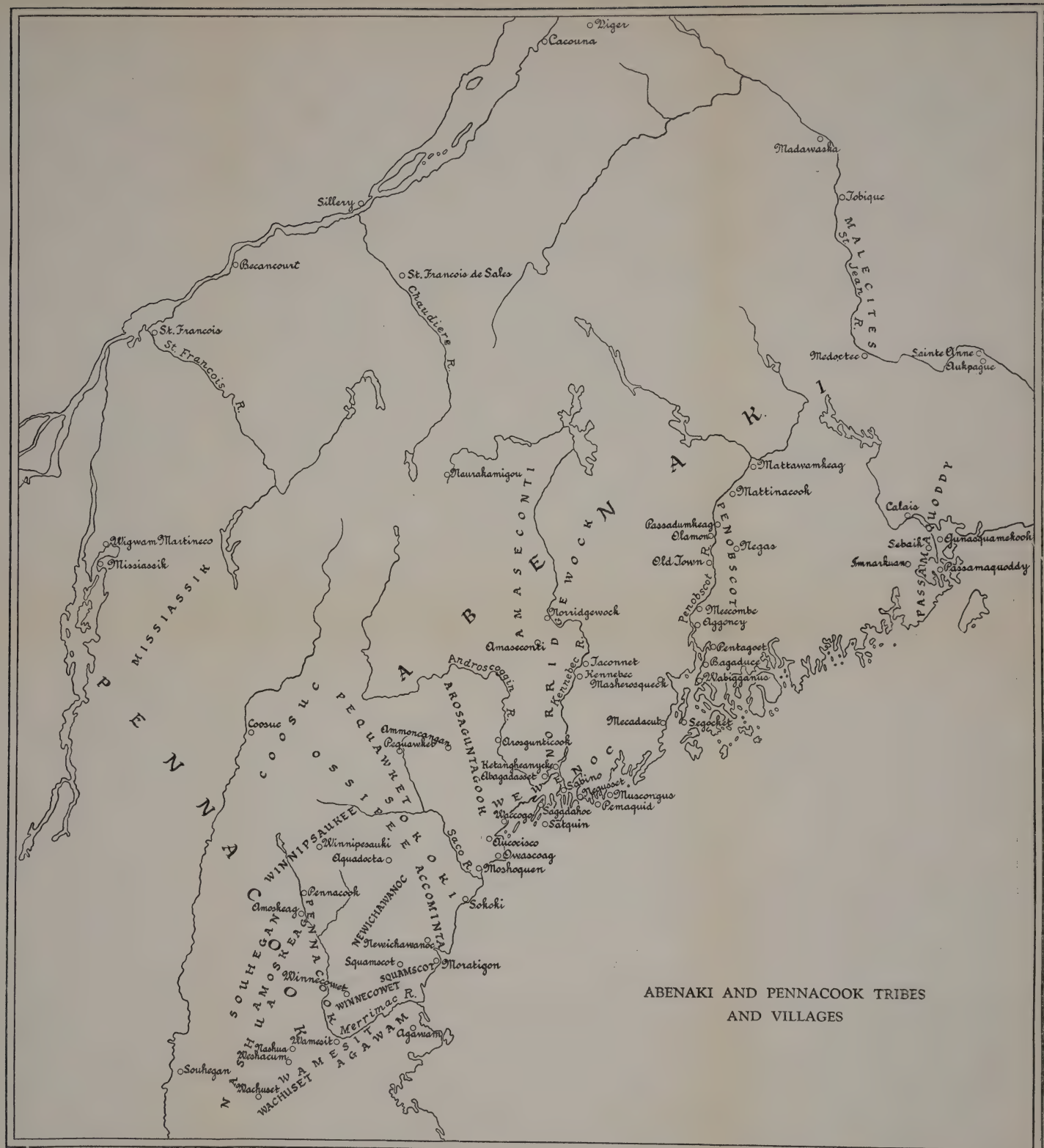
Card. Castelli

Ill[is] et Rm̃e Dn̂e uti Fr̃ Quod Amplitudo Tua nuper circa novas Britannorum adeptiones ab hac Sac: Congregatione postulavit, quoniam maturiori quadam deliberatione dignum videtur, Em̃i Patres in praesens differendum consueverunt, donec opportunii habitis consultationibus illud decernant quod et Religionis Securitati, et missionum Americanarum conservationi magis profecturum dignoscatur. Interim curabis S. Congregionem certiorem facere de praesenti Missionum Statu in Insulis tuae jurisdictione subjectis docebisque qua potissimum Ratione diriguntur. Quod dum abs tua Sollicitudine singularique diligentia propr diem expectabimus Deum Opt. Max. precamur ut Amp[nem] Tuam sospitem diutissime servet.

Romae 9 July 1763
Uti Frater
Joseph Ma Cardlis Castelli Pftus ap.
M. Marefuscey Sec[tius]

D. Episcop[s] daborem Vic[o] Ap[o] Londinum

Archives of the Rom. Cath. Diocese of Westminster, Vol. XLI, No. 33.



ABENAKI AND PENNACOOK TRIBES
AND VILLAGES

APPENDIX D.

Map and Table showing principal Tribes and Villages of the Abenaki and of the Pennacook.

Tribes and Villages of the Abenaki.

The following is a summary of the tribes and villages of the Abenaki group, together with the location of each and the source of the earliest mention:

ACCOMINTA—York co., Me. Smith (1616), Mass H. S. *C.*, 3s., VI, 97.

AMASECONTI—Franklin co., Me. Charter of the Plymouth Co., Jan. 13/23, 1629/30.

Annessak—Sandy r., nr. Farmington, Me. Map (16–), Ms. A. S. H., 124-1-5. Lib. Cong. phot.

This village is called Comesquantick by Roemer (1700), Me. H. S. *C.*, 2s, X, 49. Père V. Bigot writes it Ammessoukkanti (1701), Ibid. V, 463.

AROSEGUNTICOOK—Androscoggin co., Me. Smith (1616), Mass. H. S. *C.*, 3s., VI, 107.

Arosegunticook—Androscoggin r., nr. Lewiston, Me. Ibid.

Is this the *Aumoughcawgen* mentioned by Smith, or is Smith's village the Ammongan (Saccarappa Falls, Cumberland co.), which is found in the deed of 1657, Me. H. S. *C.*, I, 118.

Moshoquen—southern point of Cumberland co. Smith (1616), Mass. H. S. *C.*, 3s., VI, 107.

Is Moshoquen the same as Machegonne, mentioned in the land lease, Casco Bay, Feb. 6, 1637, York Deeds, Me. H. S. *C.*, 2s. VIII, 215?

Owascong—site of Scarborough, Me. Record of Indian Sale (1659), Map Me. H. S. *C.*, III.

MALECITES—along the banks of the St. Jean r. Champlain map (1608), "Les Etchmons."

Madawaska—jc. St. Jean and Madawaska. Bp. Plessis, *Visites Pastorales* (1815).

Medoctec—St. Jean r., nr. Woodstock, N. B. Bp. St. Vallier, *Estat present de L'Eglise* (1686).

Okpaak—St. Jean, six miles above Fredericton. A. du N. Reglements des Limites, Acadie (1753).

Rumfeekhungus—(?) Journal of Daniel Little, Sept. 1, 1788.

Is *Rumfeekhungus* mentioned by the Protestant Missionary Little the same as the modern *Rusagornis?*

St. Anne—St. Jean, nr. Fredericton. Letter of Père Germain (1759), cited by Niles, Mass. H. S. *C.*, V, 542.

Okpaak (Aupague, Ekauba, Koubak) was the Indian village about seven miles above St. Anne (site of the present Federicton). On an island opposite Okpaak was the Chapel and mission of St. Anne (Indian). Jeffrey's map (1755) shows a Masshouse a few miles above Aupague and another an equal distance below. Morris' map (1765) has the following inscription "Augpack is about seven miles above St. Anns, and at this place was the Indian church and the Residence of the French missionary.

Tobique—jc. St. Jean and Tobique. Shea, *Missions*, 137.

Viger—nr. Viger, Temiscouata co., Que. *Bull.*, B. A. E., 30, II, 882.

Chamberlain, *New Mag.*, 1898, speaks of a settlement at Cacouna in the same county nr. Rivière du Loup, founded by thirty families in 1828.

MISSIASSIK—Missisquoi r. and b. nor. Vermont. 1744 Memoire du Roi Orders of King, B78.

Missiassik—mouth of the Missisquoi. Beauharnois (1744), N. Y. Doc. Col. H., IX, 1110.

Wigwam Martineco—Bay of Misco (Missisquoi). Niles (1760), Mass. H. S. *C.*, IV, 564.

The Hdb. (I, 872) states that their large village at the mouth of the Missisquoi was abandoned in 1730 and they removed to St. Francis, Quebec, but an order from the French King to the Intendants (Mar. 24, 1744) shows that they were still there. In 1766 the Indians of this tribe wrote to Governor Murray: "We the Misskoui Indians of the Abenaki tribe have inhabited that part of Lake Champlain known by the name of Misikoui time unknown to any of us here present." Jeffrey's Map (1755) shows them in this region under the name of *Massassuk Abenaka.*

NORRIDGEWOCK—site of the present Norridgewock, Me. *Jes. Rel.* 1652), Naranchoek.

Tacconet—Falls of the Kennebec. Smith (1616), Mass. H. S. *C.*, 3s., VI, 107. Taughtanakagnet.

Rosier's Map, *Carte de la riviere St. Jean, et les Missions parmy les Abenaquis* shows a village on the upper Kennebec named Jaconoc.

OSSIPEE—Ossipee r. and lake, Carroll co., N. H. Treaty of 1690, Mass. H. S. *C.*, I, 113.

Ossipee—on L. Ossipee.

PASSAMAQUODDY—Passamaquoddy bay, St. Croix r.. and Schoodic lake. Winthrop (1633), Machies; Map. s. (17-early); Cadillac (1692), Me. H. S. *C.*, VI, 279.

Calais—Schoodic lake, Me. Cath. Dir. (1855).

Gunasquanekook—site of St. Andrews, N. B. Vetromile (1866).

Imnarkuan—site of Pembroke, Me. Vetromile (1866).

Louis Island—site of Princeton. Vetromile (1866).

Passamaquoddy—Passamaquoddy. Vischer map (167–).

Sebaik—Pleasant Point, Passamaquoddy. Treaty of 1794; Romagne (1804).

PENOBSCOT—both sides of the Penobscot bay and river. *Jes. Rel.* (1611); *Champlain* (1613).

Asnela—island in the Penobscot. Gatchet. Penobscot Ms. B. A. E. (1887).

Bagaduce—site of Castine (peninsula), Purchas (1625), Me. H. S. *C.*, V, 156

Vetromile says: "We are sure there was no Indian village at Castine called at present Bagaduce, a corruption of matche-be-guatoos" (page 53). Purchas (1625) speaks of Chebegnadose which may be the same. In a letter from the Penobscot Indians to the Governor of New England (Guilday transcripts) they list "majorbigaduce" as one of the tribes.

Madnaguk—Lincoln I. in the Penobscot. Gatchet, Penobscot Ms.

Mattawamkeag—jc. of Penobscot and Madawamkeag. Chadwick, *Journal* (1746).

In the ms. letter previously referred to Mattawamkeag is another place mentioned by the Penobscots. Chadwick says in his *Journal* (page 11) that *Mederwomkeeg* is an Indian town and place of residence in time of war.

Mattinacook I.—in Penobscot r. (1876) Me. H. S. *C.*, VII, 103.

Mecadacut—n. w. of Penobscot b. Smith's map (1614), Dunbarte.

Meecombe—lower Penobscot. Purchas (1625).

Narakamig—on the Penobscot bet. Pentagoet and Panawamske. Letter of P. V. Bigot (1698); Carayon, *Doc. Inedits*, XII, 277.

Narakamig is found only in the *Jesuit Relations*. Père V. Bigot seems to have established a mission here before making the final settlement at Panawamské.

Negas—Penobscot co. Willis, Me. H. S. *C.*, IV, 108.

Is this Negas the same as the beaver trading-post of the French Negué which figured in the Crown Memorial of Jan. 4, 1697?

Norumbega—site of Brewer, Me. Champlain (1605).

Olamon—site of Greenbush on Penobscot. Vetromile (1859).

Old Town—I. in the Penobscot above Bangor, Me. Treaty of (1786) (Indian Oldtown).

Some would make the present Indian village Oldtown identical with Panawamské. The letter of Colonel Thomas Westbrook describing the "Expedition to the Penobscot River, 1722-23" (Mass. Arch., 51: 364-367) would seem to justify this conclusion. He says: "It is situated on an island in a fresh water river twelve miles from salt water." Others, however, Shea among the number estimate that the old mission was above the outlet of the lake above the present Indian village.

Panawamske—(see note above). Villieu (1695), Relation du Voyage.

Passadumkeag—Nicolas I. Chadwick, *Map and Journal* (1746).

Pentegoet—site of Castine, Me. Simancas Map (1610).

Segocket—Me. coast, west of mouth of Penobscot. Smith's Map (1614), Norwich.

PEQUAWKET—headwaters of the Saco r. Martin (1675), Me. H. S. *C.*, I, 223.

Pequawket—site of Fryebourg, Me.

ROCAMECA—on the Androscoggin r., Oxford and Franklin cos., Me. Roemer Memorial (1700), Me. H. S. *C.*, 2s., Doc. Hist. X, 49.

Rocameca—on the Androscoggin r. Treaty of Casco Bay (1701), Narrakamagog; Roemer (1700), Narracomecook; Map Ms. A. S. H., 124-14 (17—), Naurakamigou.

SOKOKI—mouth of the Saco r. Champlain Map (1608), Chacoet.
Aquadocta—west of Berwick, Me., before 1690. Niles, 3s., VI, 217.
Moratigon—southwest coast of Me. Mourt (1621), Mass. H. S. *C.*, VIII, 226.
Sokoki—on the site of Saco r. *Jes. Rel.*, 1646; Druillettes' *Journal* (1650-1).

WEWENOC—on the Sheepscot r., around St. George Harbor and r.
Abagadasset—pt. on the Kennebec opposite Woolwich. Map Me. H. S. *C.*, 2s., V, 129.
Aucocisco—vicinity of Casco. Smith (1616), Mass. H. S. *C.*, VI, 107, 117.
Ketangheanyche—m. of Kennebec. Purchas (1625).
Muscongus—Muscongus I., Lincoln co., Me. Smith (1616), Nuscongus
Negusset—site of Woolwich, Me. Smith (1616), Nassaque.
Pemaquid—site of Pemaquid, Me. Smith map (1614), Mass. H. S. *C.*, 3s., III, St. John's Town.
Sabino—m. of Kennebec. Strachey (1618), Me. H. S. *C.*, III, 301.
Sagadohoc—m. of Kennebec. Smith (1616).
Satquin I.—off the coast of Sagadohoc co. Gt. Patent for New England (1622), Me. H. S. *C., Doc. Hist.*, VII, 62.
Waccogo—Yarmouth (?) Smith (1616), Wakcogo.
Is this the Westcustago in *Mass. Court records*, Me. H. S. *C. Doc. Hist.*, 2s. VIII, 128?

In the report of the Earl of Bellomont, Oct. 7, 1700, the following are mentioned as "Onnagongue Castles (Abenaki settlements): Ouwerage, Ossaghrage, Onnagongwe, and Unyjaware." *N. Y. Docs. Col. His.*, IV, 758. Whether these were temporary villages or Mohawk versions of the Abenaki names of known villages remains to be decided.

The Tribes and Villages of the Pennacook Indians.

Some of the tribes mentioned above as the Peqwakets, Ossipee, and Sokoki are often included among the Pennacooks; on the other hand, the entire Pennacook group is frequently classified as an Abenaki tribe.

AGAWAM—land on Newbury r. Smith (1616), Augoam.
Agawam—site of Ipswich, Mass. Smith (1616), Aggawam.

AMOSKEAG—Merrimac r., Hillsboro co., N. H. Eliot (1650), Namaske, Mass. H. S. *C.*, 3s., IV, 125.
Amoskeag—Amoskeag falls.

COOSUC—Coos and Grafton cos., N. H.
Coosuc (Coos)—nr. mouth of Lower Ammonoosuc.

NASHUA—upper Nashua r., in Worcester co., Mass. Eliot (1648), Nasawog, Mass. H. S. *C.*, 3s., IV, 81.

Nashua—site of Leominister.

Weshacum—south of Nashua. Gookin (1674), Mass. H. S. *C.*, I, 162.

NEWICHAWANOC—upper Piscataqua r. Gibbins (1633), N. H. H. *C.*, I, 311.

Newichawanoc—site of Berwick, Me.

PENNACOOK—both banks of the Merrimac above and below Concord. Doc. 1659.

Pennacook—site of Concord, N. H. N. H. H. S. *C.*, III, 212.

SOUHEGAN—on Southegan r., Hillsborough co., N. H. Eliot (1651).

Souhegan—site of Amherst.

SQUAMSCOT—on Exeter r., Exeter co., N. H.

Squamscot.

WACHUSET—upper Nashua r., Worcester co. Hubbard (1680), Mass. H. S. *C.*, 2s., V, 408.

Wachuset—site of Princeton, Mass. Winthrop (1644).

WAMESIT—s. bank of the Merrimac below m. of Concord r.

Wamesit—site of Lowell, Mass. Eliot (1651), Pawtucket.

WINNECOWET—Rockingham co., N. H.

Winnecowet.

WINNIPESAUKEE—Winnipesauki lake, N. H. Treaty of 1690, Mass. H. S. *C.*, 3s., I, 113.

Winnipesauki.

It seems probable that one or more of these tribes was known by the name of the great Pennacook chief, Passaconaway, who dwelt upon the Merrimac and controlled the sachems even to the Pascataqua. Bishop Laval in his report on the New England missions, 1663 (Appendix) says "ad flumen Merameg, 20 circiter leucis a fluvio Kinebeki distantem. Haec inter tres vicinas nationes 400 familias numerat Passagoüanoüet vocantur."

There is no intention on the part of the writer of presenting the foregoing map as the final word on the number and location of the Indians of Maine and of the surrounding territory. This chart is a by-product of the Indian missions problem considered in the monograph. It is herewith offered for whatever value it may have for historians and ethnologists.

APPENDIX E.

Authorities Cited and Consulted.

A. Bibliographical Aids.

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B. Sources in Manuscript.

1. *Manuscripts in Canadian Archives:*

a. Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa.

The manuscripts consulted in these archives are so numerous that it would be impracticable to list them here. Where any have been quoted or cited in the text, complete references are made in the footnotes. Although almost all of the collections yielded some material, those which were found most valuable are the following:

(1) Archives des Colonies, Series B (189 vols.), 1663-1785. Canada, Acadia, and Ile Royale.
Note: these are partially calendared in some of the *Reports on the Canadian Archives:* 1-42, supplement for 1899; 42-74, *Report for 1904,* Appendix K; 75-189, *Report for 1905,* I, pt. 6.

(2) Correspondence-Général sent from Canada and Ile Royale:
(a) Series C11 (I), (123 vols.), 1575-1784.
Note: Partially calendared: 1-30, *Report for 1885;* 31-75, *Report for 1886;* 72-122, *Report for 1887.*
(b) Series C11 (II), Acadie.
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(c) Series C11 (III), Boundary Papers.
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(3) Missions religieuses; Series F (vols. 127, 128).
(4) Memoirs on the Church in Canada and Acadia, Series K.
(5) Mémoires et Documents.

(6) Moreaus de Saint-Méry Collection, F3.

Note: Calendared partly in *Report for 1899*, partly in *Report for 1905*. Many of the papers are duplicates of those in B and C11, but many are to be found only in this collection.

b. Archives of the Seminary of Quebec.

Much valuable material was found here especially on the Acadian missions of the Prêtres des Misssions Etrangères and of the Sulpicians. Many of the letters contained references to the missionary activities of Père Thury and Père Gaulin. The Journal of Père Beaudonin is in this deposit and much of the correspondance of l'abbé l'Isle Dieu.

There is no printed calendar but there is a complete card index of the material already calendared.

c. Archives of the Archbishopric of Quebec.

Material was found here for the latter Acadian missions. Many of the documents in this deposit are transcripts from the Public Archives of Canada or from the Seminary. The manuscripts which have been especially useful in this work are the letters which formed the correspondence between the Bishops of Quebec and those of the United States at the beginning of the national period of the latter country. The letters of Bishop Plessis to Bishops Carroll and Cheverus and also to Père Matignon furnish information concerning the Indian missions in Maine. Some of these letters have been printed in Têtu, "Visites Pastorales," *La Semaine Religieuse*, XVII; some are found in the Journal of Bishop Plessis.

2. *Manuscripts in the Massachusetts Archives, State House, Boston.*

This Archives contains over two hundred fifty volumes of Mss. relating to Mass. affairs 1625-1791.

Vol. XXIX comprises all the Indian conferences etc. 1713-1776.

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Vol. XXXIV deals with Indian treaties 1645-1726.

French documents and maps relating to Massachusetts collected in France by Ben Perley Poore.

Collection of Gay manuscripts.

Many of the documents in the Massachusetts Archives have been printed in the Force collection and in the publications of the Maine and Mass. Historical Societies. The French documents have been printed in four volumes.

For notes on these collections see "The Massachusetts Archives" by John Henry Edmunds (archivist) in the *American Antiq. Soc.*, April, 1921.

3. *Manuscripts in the Mss. Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.*

   a. Transcripts and photostats from French Sources.
      (1) Bibliothèque Nationale.
      (2) Collection Memoires et Documents.

   b. Transcripts and photostats from English Sources.
      (1) Public Record Office.
      (2) Privy Council.
      (3) British Museum.
         (a) Additional Mss.
         (b) Hardwicke Papers.
         (c) Egerton Mss.
         (d) Lansdowne Mss.
      (4) Archives of the Diocese of Westminster.

   Material was found in all of the above collections. The Library of Congress has no published calendars of its mss. and transcripts. There is a card index. The French transcripts here are for the most part not duplicated in the Canadian archives. Many of the British transcripts are to be found in the archives at Ottawa and a considerable number have been printed in the collections of the various New England historical societies.

4. *The Bureau of Ethnology, Washington, D. C.*

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5. *The Archives of the University of Georgetown.*

   Three classes of material proved useful in this deposit:

   a. Some mss. and transcripts in the Shea collection, such as letters of the Jesuit missionaries.
   b. Some of Shea's own correspondence indicating his search for materials for his work on the *Missions.*
   c. The Stonyhurst Transcripts containing letters of Bishop Carroll which furnish information on the missions in the early national era.

6. *The Baltimore Cathedral Archives.*

   Correspondence between Col. John Allan, agent of the Maine Indians and Bishop Carroll.

   Many of these letters have been printed in the *Am. Cath. Hist. Res.*, in the *Recs. of the Am. Cath. Hist. Soc.*, and in Kidder's *Revolutionary Operations in Maine.*

C. Published Sources.

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